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PLUTARCH's

LIVES:

VOLUME the FOURTH.

CONTAINING

Q. SERTORIUS,
EUMENES,
AGESILAUS,
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ALEXANDER,
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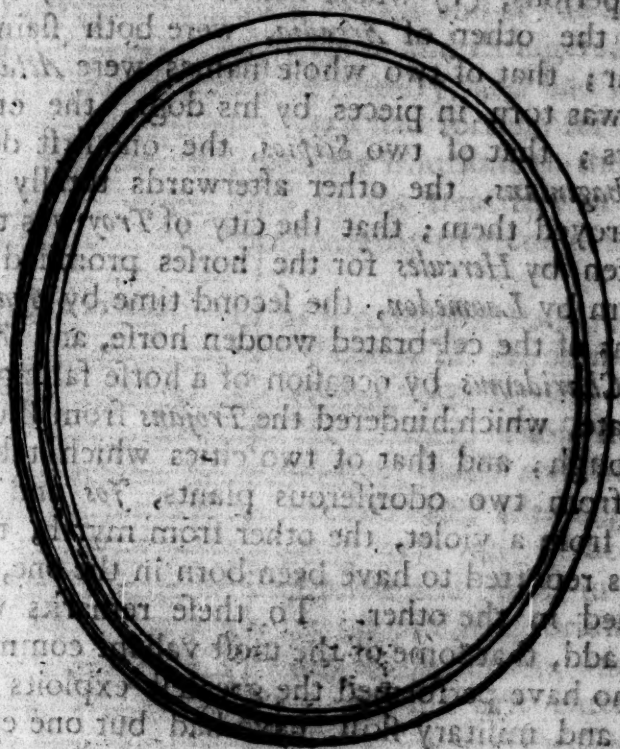
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QUINTUS SERTORIUS.

IT is no great wonder, if in a long courſe of ages, as fortune is ſo variable and inconſtant, occurrences of the ſame kind ſhould often be caſually produced. For if the number of ſubjects to be wrought upon be infinite, fortune being ſupplied with matter ſufficiently copious, may more eaſily produce this remarkable likeneſs in human affairs: or if otherwiſe all things are compoſed of a finite and limited number of events, when theſe have all appeared, the ſame of neceſſity muſt again come to paſs. Some perſons being delighted with ſuch events as exactly reſemble one another, make collections of thoſe occurrences of this kind which they have heard, or read of, and from the reſemblance they obſerve in them, repreſent them as the works of

reaſon and providence. Thus they obſerve, that two eminent perſons, (1) whoſe names were *Attis*, the one of *Syria*, the other of *Arcadia*, were both ſlain by a wild boar; that of two whoſe names were *Actæon* (2), the one was torn in pieces by his dogs, the other by his lovers; that of two *Scipios*, the one firſt defeated the *Carthaginians*, the other afterwards totally ruined and deſtroyed them; that the city of *Troy* was the firſt time taken by *Hercules* for the horſes promiſed to be given him by *Laomedon*, the ſecond time by *Agamemnon* by means of the celebrated wooden horſe, and the third time by *Charidemus* by occaſion of a horſe falling down at the gate, which hindered the *Trojans* from ſhutting it ſoon enough; and that of two cities which take their names from two odoriferous plants, *Jos* and *Smyrna*, the one from a violet, the other from myrrh, the poet *Homer* is reported to have been born in the one, and to have died in the other. To theſe remarks we may further add, that ſome of the moſt valiant commanders, and who have performed the greateſt exploits by ſtratagems and military ſkill, have had but one eye; as, *Philip*, *Antigonus*, and *Hannibal*, and *Sertorius* alſo, whoſe life and actions we are now to deſcribe, and of whom we may juſtly ſay that he was more chaſte than *Philip*, more faithful to his friends than *Antigonus*, and more merciful to his enemies than *Hannibal*; in prudence he gave place to none of them; but in fortune he was inferior to them all. But though ſhe was every way more ſevere and cruel to him than his declared enemies, yet in military ſkill and experience he was equal to *Metellus*; in boldneſs and reſolution, to *Pompey*; in ſucceſs, to *Sylla*; and in power he was a match for the whole *Roman* empire, though a baniſhed man, and a ſtranger amongſt a barbarous people.

Of

(1) In *Pauſanias*'s *Achaicks*, we read that a perſon called *Attis*, or *Attes*, the ſon of *Calaus* the *Phrygian*, lying under a natural incapacity of having children, went into *Lydia*, where he inſtructed the people in the rites and ceremonies peculiar to the mother of the Gods, and that he was ſo beloved, and honoured by that Goddeſs, that *Jupiter* provoked at it ſent a monſtrous boar into *Lydia*, that ravaged all their fields, ſlew many of the *Lydians*, and among

Of all the *Grecian* commanders, *Eumenes* of *Cardia* may be beſt compared with him; for they were both of them great generals, both valiant and at the ſame time politick; they were both aliens and ſtrangers, lived at a diſtance from their native country, and had the command of foreign forces; both had fortune for their adverſary, who was ſo extremely injurious to them in the end, that they both died by the treachery of thoſe by whoſe aſſiſtance they had formerly overcome their enemies.

Quintus Sertorius was of a reputable family, born in the city of *Nurſia*, in the country of the *Sabines*. His father died when he was young, but he was carefully and decently educated by his mother, whoſe name was *Rhea*, and whom he extremely loved and honoured. He exerciſed himſelf in oratory and pleading in his youth, which he performed ſo well that he acquired a conſiderable degree of reputation and power in *Rome* by his eloquence. But the ſplendor of his glorious actions in arms induced him to alter his ambition, and to ſeek for honour wholly in war. At his firſt entering the field, he ſerved under *Cæpio* (3), when the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* invaded *Gaul*; where, the *Romans* being worſted and put to flight, he was wounded in many parts of his body, and thrown from his horſe; nevertheleſs he ſwam acroſs the river *Rhone* in his armour, with his breaſt-plate and ſhield, bearing himſelf up againſt the force of the ſtream; ſuch was his ſtrength of body, and power of enduring labour, which he had acquired by long exercise.

When the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* came down a ſecond time with a vaſt army and with dreadful menaces, when it was no ſmall merit in a *Roman* ſoldier to keep his rank, and obey his commander, *Sertorius* undertook to

among them *Attis* himſelf. But I am a perfect ſtranger to the hiſtory of the ſecond *Attis*.

(2) *Actæon* the ſon of *Ariſtæus*, was torn in pieces by his own dogs, as was *Actæon* the ſon of *Meliſſus* by the *Bacchiadæ*, as the reader may find in the ſcholiaſt upon *Apollonius*, lib. iv.

(3) This was the Proconſul *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, who with the Conſul *Cn. Mallius* was overthrown by the *Cimbri* in the year of *Rome* 648.

to view the enemy's camp. For this purpoſe having learned the manner of their ſalutations, and the ordinary expreſſions of their language, he threw himſelf in amongſt the barbarians, dreſſed in a *Celtick* habit; and having either ſeen himſelf, or heard from others, what was moſt important for him to know, he returned to *Marius*, General of the *Roman* army, from whoſe hands he received the honourable reward of his valour. And afterwards giving frequent demonſtrations both of his conduct and courage during the reſt of the war, he was advanced to places of honour and truſt under his General, who highly eſteemed and confided in him.

After the wars with the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, he was ſent into *Spain*, as military tribune under *Didius* the *Roman* General, and wintered in the country of the *Celtiberians*, in the city of *Caſtulo*, where the ſoldiers enjoying great plenty of all things, grew inſolent, being almoſt continually drunk, ſo that the inhabitants deſpiſed them, and ſent for aid by night to the *Gyriſæni-ans* their near neighbours, who fell upon the *Romans* in their lodgings, and ſlew a great number of them. But *Sertorius* withdrew out of the city with a few of his ſoldiers, and rallying the reſt who had ſlipped out, he marched round about the walls, and finding the gate open, by which the *Gyriſænians* had privately entered, he did not commit the ſame fault that they had done; but placing a guard at the gate, and ſeizing upon all the quarters of the city, he ſlew all who were of age to bear arms. Then ordering his ſoldiers to lay aſide their weapons, and their own cloaths, and to put on the accoutrements of the barbarians, he commanded them to follow him to the city, from whence thoſe were ſent who fell upon the *Romans* by night. The *Gyriſænians* being deceived by the ſight of their own armour and equipage, he found the gates of their city open, and took great numbers of them priſoners, who came out, thinking to meet their friends and fellow-citizens returning from the ſucceſsful execution of their enterprize. Many alſo were ſlain by the *Romans* at the

gates, and the reſt within ſurrendered themſelves, and were ſold for ſlaves.

This action made *Sertorius* to be highly renowned throughout all *Spain*; and as ſoon as he returned to *Rome*, he was appointed Quæſtor of *Gallia Ciſalpina*. This was very advantageous for the *Roman* affairs at that time; for as the *Marſian* war was then breaking out, *Sertorius* was ordered to raiſe ſoldiers, and provide arms, which he performed with ſuch diligence and ſpeed, as was very unlike the tedious ſlothful management of other young men; ſo that he acquired the reputation of a man of great ſpirit and activity in buſineſs. Nor did he at all abate of his military boldneſs and bravery, when he arrived at the dignity of a great commander, but performed wonderful exploits with his own hands; and as he never ſpared himſelf, but freely expoſed his perſon, he loſt one of his eyes in battle. However he always gloried in this deformity, ſaying that others did not continually carry about with them the teſtimonies of their valour, but often laid aſide their chains of gold, their ſpears and crowns; whereas his enſigns of honour always remained with him, and thoſe who beheld his misfortune, beheld at the ſame time a proof of his courage. The people alſo paid him the reſpect due to his merit; and when he came into the theatre, they received him with clapping of hands, and loud acclamations; which ſort of applauſe was not eaſily obtained, even by perſons who were more advanced in age, and of greater dignity in the commonwealth.

Notwithſtanding this popularity, when he ſtood for the tribuneſhip, he was diſappointed, being oppoſed by *Sylla*'s faction; and this ſeems to have been the principal cauſe of the irreconcileable hatred he bore to *Sylla*.

After *Marius* was overcome by *Sylla*, and had fled into *Africa*, and *Sylla* had left *Italy* to carry on the war againſt *Mithridates*, *Octavius* one of the conſuls remained in the intereſt of *Sylla*, but *Cinna* the other Conſul, who affected innovations, attempted to reſtore the loſt intereſt of *Marius*. *Sertorius* adhered to *Cinna*, perceiving that *Octavius* was an inactive man, and that he was

alſo ſuſpicious of any one that was a friend to *Marius*.

When the battle was fought between the two conſuls in the *Forum*, *Octavius* won the victory, and *Cinna* and *Sertorius* having loſt near ten thouſand men, left the city. But perſuading the ſoldiers, who were diſperſed about in many parts of *Italy*, to join them, they in a ſhort time collected a force ſufficient to engage *Octavius* again.

Marius about this time arrived from *Africa*, proffered to ſerve under *Cinna*, as a private ſoldier under his Conſul and Commander. Moſt of *Cinna*'s friends were for receiving *Marius*, but *Sertorius* declared againſt it, either thinking that his intereſt with *Cinna* would be diminiſhed by the preſence of a perſon of greater authority, or fearing that the violence of *Marius* would bring all things into confuſion, and that if they ſhould gain the victory, his cruel vindictive ſpirit would tranſport him beyond all the rules and limits of juſtice. He therefore repreſented to *Cinna*, that they might look upon themſelves as already victorious, that there remained little to be done, and that if they admitted *Marius*, he would not only deprive them of the glory and advantage of the war, but would alſo prove a very uneaſy and unfaithful partner in the government. To which *Cinna* anſwered, *That he judged very rightly, but that he himſelf was at a loſs how to act, being aſhamed to reject him, whom he ſent for to be partner in all his concerns.* To which *Sertorius* replied, *I thought* Marius *came into* Italy *of his own accord, and therefore I adviſed you to what I thought was moſt expedient: but you ought not to have even deliberated whether you ſhould admit him or not after you had invited him. You are by ſo doing under an obligation to receive him, and to accept of his ſervice; for your word when once given, leaves no room for debate.*

Marius being ſent for by *Cinna*, and their forces divided into three parts, under *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Sertorius*, the war was carried on ſucceſsfully. But *Cinna* and *Marius* committed every kind of outrage and violence; ſo that the *Romans* eſteemed the evils which they

had

had ſuffered during the war to be bleſſings when compared with thoſe which they ſuffered afterwards. It is ſaid however, that *Sertorius* never killed any man to ſatisfy his own reſentment, nor inſulted any one whom he had conquered, but was much offended with the inhumanity of *Marius*, and would often converſe privately with *Cinna*, and intreat him to mitigate his fury, and to uſe his power more moderately. At laſt, when the ſlaves whom *Marius* had freed at his landing, to increaſe his army, and whom he had made not only his fellow-ſoldiers in the war, but alſo his guards and the executioners of his tyrannical cruelty, became ſtrong and numerous, and partly by the permiſſion and command of *Marius*, and partly from their own ungovernable inſolence and fury, had proceeded to the moſt enormous outrages againſt their maſters, killing many of them, raviſhing their wives, and abuſing their children, their crimes appeared ſo intolerable to *Sertorius*, that he ſlew them all to the number of four thouſand as they lay encamped together.

Afterwards when *Marius* was dead, and *Cinna* was ſlain, and when the younger *Marius* had uſurped the ſupreme authority, and made himſelf Conſul againſt the will of *Sertorius*, and the laws of *Rome*; when *Carbo*, *Norbanus* and *Scipio* had fought unſucceſsfully againſt *Sylla*; when much was loſt by the cowardice and remiſſneſs of the commanders, and by the treachery of their own party; when their affairs were ſo miſerably ſhattered that they could not be ſupported even by the preſence of *Sertorius*, becauſe thoſe who had the greateſt authority were perſons of no prudence or conduct; and laſtly, when *Sylla* had placed his camp near to *Scipio*, and by pretending friendſhip, and offering him terms of peace, had corrupted his army, which *Scipio* could not be made ſenſible of, although often forewarned of it by *Sertorius*; he then utterly deſpaired of the proſperity of *Rome*, and made haſte into *Spain*; that by taking poſſeſſion of it beforehand, he might eſtabliſh his power in a country, which would be a refuge to his friends, and a ſupport to his declining party. But having bad weather in his journey, and travelling through

through mountainous countries, where the inhabitants ſtopped him by the way, and demanded money for his paſſage, thoſe who were with him were out of all patience, repreſenting it as an inſupportable diſhonour for a Proconſul of *Rome* to pay tribute to a crew of wretched barbarians. But he ſlighted this ſeeming diſgrace, and told them, *he muſt buy time, the moſt precious of all things to thoſe who go upon great enterprizes.* Then pacifying the barbarians with money, he made all the haſte he could to take poſſeſſion of *Spain.* This country was flouriſhing and populous, and abounded with young men fit to bear arms; but by reaſon of the inſolence and covetouſneſs of the commanders ſent thither yearly from *Rome*, the inhabitants were very averſe to the *Roman* government. But he ſoon gained the affection of the nobility, by converſing familiarly with them, and ingratiated himſelf with the people by remitting their taxes. But that which made him moſt beloved, was his exempting them from finding lodgings for the ſoldiers; for he commanded his army to take up their winter quarters without the cities, and to pitch their tents in the fields; and he himſelf, firſt of all, cauſed his own pavilion to be raiſed without the walls. Yet not being willing to rely totally upon the good inclination of the inhabitants, he armed all the *Romans* who lived in thoſe countries, who were of proper age, and began to build ſhips and to make all ſorts of warlike engines, by which means he kept the cities in due obedience, being affable and courteous in time of peace, and appearing formidable to his enemies by his great preparations for war.

As ſoon as he was informed that *Sylla* had made himſelf maſter of *Rome*, and that the party of *Marius* and *Carbo* was utterly deſtroyed, he expected that ſome commander with a conſiderable army would ſpeedily come againſt him; he therefore ſent away *Julius Salinator* with ſix thouſand men, to guard the *Pyrenæan* mountains. *Caius Annius* not long after was ſent thither by *Sylla*; and finding that *Julius Salinator*'s camp was impregnable by reaſon of its ſituation, he ſat down

at

at the foot of the mountains in great perplexity. But one *Calpurnius Lanarius* having treacherouſly ſlain *Julius Salinator*, and his forces having quitted the tops of the *Pyrenæan* mountains, *Caius Annius* came forward with a great army, and paſſing over forced thoſe from their ſtations who endeavoured to hinder his march. *Sertorius* not being ſtrong enough to give him battle, retreated with three thouſand men into *New Carthage*, where he embarked and croſſed over to *Mauritania* in *Attica*. His men going on ſhore to water, and ſtraggling about negligently, were attacked by the *Africans*, who ſlew a great number of them. This new misfortune forced him to ſail back again into *Spain*, from whence he was alſo repulſed; but the *Cilician* pirates joining with him, they ſailed to the iſland of *Pityuſa*, where they landed, and over-powered the garriſon placed there by *Caius Annius*, who alſo came thither not long after with a great fleet, and five thouſand ſoldiers. *Sertorius* prepared to fight him by ſea, though his ſhips were not built for ſtrength, but for lightneſs and ſwift ſailing; but a violent weſt-wind raiſed ſuch a ſtorm, that many of *Sertorius*'s ſhips, on account of their lightneſs were driven upon the rocky ſhores, and he himſelf with a few veſſels, being prevented by the ſtorm from putting further out to ſea, and hindred from landing by his enemies, was toſſed about for ten days together by the boiſterous waves, and eſcaped at laſt with great difficulty. After the wind ceaſed, he ran into certain deſolate iſlands ſcattered about in thoſe ſeas, affording no water; from whence making out to ſea again, he paſſed the ſtreights, and turning to the right hand he landed a little above the mouth of the river *Bætis*, where it falls into the *Atlantick* ocean, and gives the name to all that part of *Spain*. Here he met with ſome ſeamen, newly arrived from the *Atlantick* iſlands. Theſe are two in number, divided from one another only by a narrow channel, and are diſtant from the coaſt of *Africa* ten thouſand furlongs. They are called *The fortunate iſlands*. The rain falls ſeldom there, and then in moderate ſhowers; but

but for the moſt part they have gentle breezes, bringing along with them ſoft dews, which ſo enrich the ſoil, that it not only is fertile when plowed and planted, but even produces of itſelf plenty of delicious fruits ſufficient to feed the inhabitants, who may here be ſupported without trouble or labour. The ſeaſons of the year are temperate, and the alteration from one to the other ſo moderate, that the air is always ſerene and healthful. The rough northerly and eaſtern winds, which blow towards theſe iſlands from the continent are diſſipated by reaſon of the vaſt diſtance, and utterly loſe their force before they reach theſe parts. The ſoft weſtern and ſoutherly winds which breathe upon them, ſometimes produce mild ſprinkling ſhowers; but for the moſt part they gently refreſh the earth only with fruitful dews, and the nouriſhing moiſture of the air. So that it is firmly believed, even by the barbarous people themſelves, that this is the ſeat of the bleſſed, and that theſe are the *Elyſian* fields ſo highly celebrated by *Homer*.

As ſoon as *Sertorius* heard this account, he was ſeized with a wonderful deſire to go and live there in peace and repoſe, far from the noiſe of war, and free from the troubles of government. But his inclinations being perceived by the *Cilician* pirates, who love not peace and repoſe, but deſire to rove about in queſt of riches and plunder, they immediately forſook him, and ſailed away into *Africa*, to aſſiſt *Aſcalis* the ſon of *Iptha*, and to reſtore him to his kingdom of *Mauritania*.

The ſudden departure of the *Cilicians* did not however diſcourage *Sertorius*; for he preſently reſolved to aſſiſt the enemies of *Aſcalis*; and by this new adventure he kept his ſoldiers together, who from hence conceived new hopes of their future proſperity, and began to have a better proſpect of their affairs. His arrival in *Mauritania* being very acceptable to the *Moors*, he loſt no time, but immediately giving battle to *Aſcalis*, beat him out of the field, and beſieged him; and *Paccianus* being ſent by *Sylla* with a powerful ſupply to raiſe the ſiege, *Sertorius* ſlew him in the field, defeated his

his army and then joined it to his own; after which he took the city of *Tingis*, where *Aſcalis* and his brothers were fled for refuge. The *Africans* report that *Antæus* was buried in this city; but *Sertorius* being unwilling to truſt common fame, which repreſented his body as of a moſt prodigious length, cauſed his ſepulchre to be opened, and finding, as they ſay, that his corps was threeſcore cubits long, he was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and immediately offered up ſacrifice to the gods, and cloſed the tomb again; thus he increaſed the fame of the ſepulchre, and added new honours to the memory of *Antæus*. The inhabitants of *Tingis* further alledge, that after the death of *Antæus*, his wife *Tinga* lived with *Hercules*, and had a ſon by him called *Sophax*, who was King of theſe countries, and gave his mother's name to this city; and that *Sophax* had a ſon called *Diodorus*, who ſubdued a great part of *Africa* with an army of *Greeks*, which he raiſed out of the colonies of the *Olbianians* and *Myceneans* ſettled here by *Hercules*. I mention theſe paſſages for the ſake of King *Juba*, the beſt hiſtorian of any King, and whoſe family is ſaid to be derived from *Diodorus* and *Sophax*.

When *Sertorius* had made himſelf maſter of the whole country, he did no injury to thoſe who yielded themſelves up to his mercy, but reſtored to them their eſtates, their cities, their laws and privileges, accepting only of ſuch acknowledgments as they themſelves freely offered.

Whilſt he was conſidering which way next to turn his arms, the *Luſitanians* ſent ambaſſadors to deſire him to be their General; for being terrified with the *Roman* power, and finding the neceſſity of having a commander of great authority and experience, being alſo ſufficiently informed of his character by thoſe who were acquainted with him, they would commit themſelves to the care of no one but him. For *Sertorius* was of a temper not to be ſurprized with fear, nor to be captivated with pleaſure; in adverſity and dangers he was undaunted, and in proſperity never elated. Upon a ſudden aſſault or dangerous attempt, no commander in his

time

time was more bold and daring; if any thing was to be performed in war by deceit, circumvention or ſurprize, if any ſtrong place was to be ſeized, or any paſs to be gained ſpeedily, he ſhowed great readineſs and depth of contrivance. In beſtowing rewards and honours upon thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour, he was bountiful and magnificent even to prodigality, but very ſparing and backward in puniſhing offenders. Yet that cruelty which he exerciſed in the latter part of his life, upon the *Spaniſh* hoſtages, ſeems to argue, that his clemency was not natural, but only aſſumed for the ſake of his intereſt. I think, indeed, that ſincere virtue founded on reaſon and mature judgment can never be totally perverted or extirpated by any misfortune whatever; but I do not think it impoſſible that great and undeſerved calamities and diſgraces, may make ſome alteration in the beſt diſpoſitions. And thus I ſuppoſe it happened to *Sertorius*, who being exaſperated by ill fortune, and the unhappy ſtate of his affairs, was at laſt ſevere to thoſe who had unworthily injured him.

The *Luſitanians* having ſent for *Sertorius*, he left *Africa*, and being made General with abſolute authority, he immediately formed an army, with which he brought the neighbouring parts of *Spain* into ſubjection; many countries alſo voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves, being induced by the fame of his clemency, and of his military talents. Upon ſome occaſions alſo he invented ſtrange artifices and impoſtures to pleaſe and delude the people; amongſt which that of the hind was certainly none of the leaſt. *Spanus*, a countryman, who lived in thoſe parts, meeting by chance a hind that had newly calved, flying from the hunters, he let the dam go, and purſuing the fawn took it, being wonderfully pleaſed with the peculiarity of the colour, which was perfectly white. *Sertorius* was then in thoſe parts; and as he received courteouſly ſuch preſents of fruit, fowl,

(4) We meet with an inſtance of the ſame kind in the life of *Marius*, who but a few years before the time of which *Plutarch* is now writing, had a *Syrian* woman with

fowl, or veniſon, as the country afforded, and rewarded liberally thoſe who preſented them, the countryman brought him his young hind, which he kindly accepted, and was much pleaſed with at the firſt ſight; but when in time he had made it ſo tame and gentle, that it would come when he called, and follow him whereſoever he went, and could endure the noiſe and tumult of the camp; knowing well that the barbarians are naturally prone to ſuperſtition, by degrees he deified it, and told the people (4) that it was given him by *Diana*, and that it diſcovered to him many ſecrets. To this alſo he added theſe further contrivances; if he had received at any time private intelligence, that the enemy had made an incurſion into thoſe provinces which were under his command, or had ſolicited any city to revolt, he pretended that the hind had informed him of it in his ſleep, and charged him to keep his forces in readineſs; or if he had notice that any of the commanders under him had got a victory, he would hide the meſſengers, and bring forth the hind crowned with flowers, for joy of the good news that was to come, and would encourage his men to rejoice and ſacrifice to the Gods for the good account they ſhould ſoon receive of their ſucceſs. By theſe methods he brought them to be more tractable and obedient in all things; for now they thought themſelves no longer to be led by a ſtranger, but rather by a hero, or a God. And this imagination was confirmed by the increaſe of his power beyond all human reaſon or probability: for with two thouſand five hundred men, whom he called *Romans*, joined with ſeven hundred *Africans*, who landed with him when he firſt entered *Luſitania*, together with four thouſand *Luſitanian* foot, an ſeven hundred horſe, he made war with four *Roman* generals, who commanded a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, two thouſand archers and ſlingers, and innumerable cities; whereas at firſt he had not above twenty cities in all. Yet from this

with him who paſſed for a great prophetess, and two tame vultures that were let looſe on purpoſe to follow him.

(5) The

this weak and ſlender beginning, he became afterwards ſo conſiderable, that he took many cities, and ſubdued great and powerful countries. Of the *Roman* commanders who were ſent againſt him, he overthrew *Cotta* in a ſea-fight, in the ſtrait near the city of *Mellaria*; he routed *Phidius* chief commander of *Hiſpania Bætica*, and ſlew two thouſand *Romans* near the river *Bætis*. *Domitius* and *Lucius Manlius* Proconſul of another province of *Spain* were overthrown in a ſet battle by one of his lieutenants; he ſlew *Thoranius* a commander ſent againſt him by *Metellus* with a great force, and deſtroyed his whole army; and *Metellus*, the greateſt General in thoſe times, was often circumvented by him, and reduced to ſuch extremities, that *Lucius Lollius* was obliged to come to his aſſiſtance out of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and *Pompey* the Great was ſent into *Spain* in all haſte with another conſiderable army. Nor did *Metellus* know which way to turn himſelf, having to do with a man of undaunted boldneſs, who was continually harraſſing him, and yet could not be brought to a pitched battle; for by the ſwiftneſs and dexterity of his *Spaniſh* ſoldiery he was able to change his ſtation, and to caſt his army into every kind of form. For though *Metellus* had great experience in conducting heavy-armed legions when drawn up in due order into a ſtanding phalanx to encounter the enemy hand to hand and overpower them by force, yet he was not able to climb up ſteep hills, and to be continually upon the purſuit of a ſwift enemy, nor could he like them endure hunger, nor live expoſed to the weather without fire or covering. Beſides, *Metellus* being now in years, and having been formerly engaged in many battles and undergone great fatigues, was inclined to lead a more remiſs, eaſy, and voluptuous life. But *Sertorius* with whom he contended was in the prime of his age; his mind was in its full vigour, and his body wonderfully fitted for war, being ſtrong, nimble and active; for he was continually accuſtomed to endure hard labour, to take long journies, and to paſs many nights together without ſleep, to eat little, and to be ſatisfied with very coarſe fare. He never was guilty of any

any exceſs in drinking, even when he was moſt at leiſure; but what time he had to ſpare, he ſpent in hunting, and riding into all parts, whereby he underſtood the courſe and ſituation of the country, ſo that when he could not maintain the fight he knew which way to eſcape, and where certainly to enſnare and encompaſs his enemy when he was victorious. Thus *Metellus*, by not being able to come to an engagement ſuffered all the inconveniences of a defeat, and *Sertorius*, though he declined fighting, reaped all the advantages of conqueſt, for he hindered the *Romans* from foraging, and cut off their proviſions; if they proceeded forward, he ſtopped their march; if they ſtayed in any place and encamped, he continually moleſted and alarmed them; if they beſieged any town, he preſently appeared and beſieged them again, by reducing them to the want of neceſſaries; ſo that he wearied out the *Roman* army, and reduced them to ſo low and deſpairing a condition, that when *Sertorius* challenged *Metellus* to fight ſingly with him, they commended him, and cried out, *It was fit that a* Roman *ſhould fight againſt a* Roman, *and a General againſt a General*; and when *Metellus* refuſed the challenge, they reproached and ridiculed him. But *Metellus* juſtly derided and contemned their cenſures; for, as *Theophraſtus* obſerves, *a General ſhould die like a General, and not like a common ſoldier.*

Metellus perceiving that the city of the *Lagobrites*, which gave great aſſiſtance to *Sertorius*, might eaſily be taken for want of water, (for there being but one well within the wall, whoever beſieged the place might make himſelf maſter of the ſprings and fountains in the ſuburbs) hoped to force the town in two days time, and commanded his ſoldiers to take only five days proviſions. But *Sertorius* reſolving to ſend ſpeedy relief, ordered two thouſand veſſels to be filled with water, and offered a large reward for the carriage of every veſſel. Many *Spaniards* and *Moors* undertook the work; and chuſing out thoſe who were ſtrongeſt and ſwifteſt of foot, he ſent them through the mountains, with orders, that when they had delivered the water, they ſhould

convey away privately all thoſe who would be leaſt ſerviceable in the ſiege, that there might be water ſufficient for thoſe who were employed in the defence of the place. As ſoon as *Metellus* underſtood this, he was greatly diſturbed, moſt part of the neceſſary proviſions for his army being already conſumed; he therefore ſent out *Aquilius* with ſix thouſand ſoldiers to fetch in freſh ſupplies; but *Sertorius* having notice of it, laid an ambuſh for him, and having ſent out beforehand three thouſand men, whom he placed within a ſhady valley, in a channel which had been made hollow by the rapid fall of water from the hills, they fell upon the rear of *Aquilius* in his return, while *Sertorius* charging him in front, deſtroyed part of his army, and took the reſt priſoners. *Aquilius* eſcaped, after he had been thrown from his horſe, and loſt his arms; and *Metellus* being forced ſhamefully to raiſe the ſiege, expoſed himſelf to the laughter and contempt of the *Spaniards*, while *Sertorius* became the object of their eſteem and admiration. He was alſo highly honoured for altering their furious ſavage manner of fighting, bringing them to make uſe of the *Roman* armour, and teaching them to keep their ranks, and follow their enſigns; for thus out of a confuſed number of thieves and robbers, he conſtituted a regular well-diſciplined army. He likewiſe beſtowed ſilver and gold upon them liberally, to gild and adorn their helmets; he cauſed their ſhields to be wrought, and engraved with various figures and deſigns; he brought them into the mode of wearing flowered and embroidered cloaths; and by furniſhing them with money for theſe purpoſes, and by joining with them in the ſame emulation, he won their affections, and led them whither he pleaſed. But that which delighted them moſt, was the care he took of their children, when he ſent for all the noblemen's ſons in thoſe parts, and placed them in *Oſca*, a very conſiderable city, where he appointed maſters to inſtruct them in the *Grecian* and *Roman*

(5) The ſame cuſtom prevailed in *Gaul*, where a number of men called *Soldurii*, devoted themſelves to a Prince or ſome other great man, to ſhare with him in his fortune, both good and bad, and either to fall with him in battle, or

man learning, that when they came to be men they might be fitted to ſhare with him in authority, and in the government of the commonwealth; although under this pretence of their better education, he really made them hoſtages. However their fathers were wonderfully pleaſed to ſee that their children went daily to the ſchools in good order, handſomely dreſſed in garments edged with purple, and that *Sertorius* paid a ſalary for their learning, examined them often, diſtributed rewards to the moſt deſerving, and gave them thoſe ornaments of gold to hang about their necks, which the *Romans* call *Bullæ*.

It was at that time a cuſtom in *Spain*, that when a great commander was ſlain in battle, thoſe who attended his perſon, fought it out till they all died with him, which the inhabitants of thoſe countries called an offering, or libation (5). The other commanders had but a ſmall number of attendants of this ſort; but *Sertorius* had many thouſands who offered up themſelves, and vowed to ſacrifice their lives with his. And it is reported, that when his army was defeated near a city in *Spain*, and the enemy preſſed hard upon them, the *Spaniards* took no care for themſelves, but being totally ſollicitous to ſave *Sertorius*, they took him upon their ſhoulders, and paſſed him from one to another, till they had conveyed him into the city; and when they had thus placed their General in ſafety, every one provided afterwards for his own ſecurity.

Nor were the *Spaniards* alone ambitious to ſerve him, but the *Roman* ſoldiers alſo that came out of *Italy* were impatient to be under his command. For when *Perpenna Vento*, who was of the ſame faction with *Sertorius*, came into *Spain* with great riches, and a powerful army, and deſigned to make war againſt *Metellus* by himſelf, his own ſoldiers oppoſed it, and diſcourſed continually of the great fame and merit of *Sertorius*. This was no ſmall mortification to *Perpenna*, who was proud

or kill themſelves in caſe he was defeated; which was a point of honour wherein none of them were ever known to fail. *Cæſ. de bell. Gall. lib.* 3. This cuſtom has likewiſe been practiſed in other countries.

(1) There

proud of his family and his riches. And when they afterwards underſtood that *Pompey* had paſſed the *Pyrenæan* mountains, they took up their arms, laid hold on their enſigns, called upon *Perpenna* to lead them to *Sertorius*, and threatened him, that if he refuſed it, they would go and place themſelves under a commander who was able to defend himſelf and thoſe that ſerved him. This forced *Perpenna* to yield to their deſires, and immediately joining with *Sertorius*, he added to his army fifty-three cohorts. When all the cities on this ſide of the river *Iberus* alſo united their forces together under his command, his army grew very numerous; for they flocked to him from all quarters. But as they were a raſh diſorderly multitude, and continually called upon him to charge the enemy, being impatient of delay, this gave great uneaſineſs to *Sertorius*, who at firſt ſtrove to reſtrain them by reaſon and perſuaſion; but when he perceived them refractory and unſeaſonably violent, he gave way to their impetuous deſires, and permitted them to engage with the enemy, in ſuch a manner, that being repulſed, yet not totally routed, he hoped they would become more obedient to his commands for the future; which happening as he conjectured, he ſoon reſcued them, and brought them ſafe into his camp. After a few days being willing to encourage them again, when he had called all his army together, he cauſed two horſes to be brought into the field, the one old, feeble, and lean, the other large and ſtrong, with a very fair, thick, long tail. Near to the lean horſe he placed a tall ſtrong man, and near to the ſtrong one a little man of a deſpicable appearance. At a ſignal given, the ſtrong man took hold of the weak horſe's tail with both his hands, and drew it to him with his whole force, as if he would pull it off at once; the other man in the mean time began to pluck off hair by hair the great horſe's tail. When the ſtrong man had laboured much in vain, and made himſelf the jeſt of all the ſpectators, he gave over; but the weak little man in a ſhort time, and with great eaſe, pulled off every hair from the great horſe's tail. Then *Sertorius* roſe up, and ſpoke to his army

army after this manner: *You ſee, fellow-ſoldiers, that perſeverance is more efficacious than force. Many things which cannot be overcome when they are together, are ſubdued by degrees when they are ſeparated. Aſſiduity is reſiſtleſs, and in time overthrows and deſtroys the greateſt powers whatever; time being the friend and aſſiſtant of thoſe who have judgment to wait for the opportunities he affords, and the deſtructive enemy of ſuch as are unſeaſonably urging and preſſing forward.* By ſuch inventions and diſcourſes, wherewith he frequently entertained them, he reſtrained the temerity of the barbarians, and taught them to wait for the beſt opportunities of fighting.

But of all his remarkable exploits and ſtratagems in war, none raiſed greater admiration, than that which he put in practice againſt the *Characitani*, a people living beyond the river *Tagus*, who inhabited neither cities nor towns, but dwelt on a vaſt high hill, in the deep dens and caves of the rocks, the mouths of which open all towards the north. The country below is a clayiſh chalky ſoil; and being alſo light and porous, it is apt to be crumbled and broken into powder, and is not firm enough to bear any one that treads upon it; and if touched in the leaſt, it flies about like aſhes, or unſlaked lime. In any danger of war, theſe people deſcend into their caves, and carrying in their booty along with them, are free from all fear, and think themſelves invincible. And when *Sertorius*, being at ſome diſtance from *Metellus*, had placed his camp near this hill, they treated him with contempt and inſult, imagining that he retired into thoſe parts, being overthrown by the *Romans*. *Sertorius*, either reſenting this affront, or being unwilling to be thought to fly from his enemies, rode thither early in the morning to view the ſituation of the place; but finding there was no way to come at it, as he rode about threatening them in vain, he took notice that the wind raiſed the duſt, and carried it up towards the caves of the *Characitani*, the mouths of which, as we ſaid before, opened towards the north. The north wind which ſome call *Cæcias*, prevails moſt in thoſe parts, and is engendered out of the moiſt and marſhy

plains and the mountains covered with ſnow; and in the heat of ſummer being ſupplied and encreaſed by the melting of the ice on the peaks of the northern hills, it blows a delightful freſh gale, which recreates the *Characitani*, and refreſhes their cattle all the day long. *Sertorius* conſidering well all circumſtances, wherein either the information of the inhabitants, or his own obſervation had inſtructed him, commanded his ſoldiers to ſhovel up a great quantity of this light duſty earth, to heap it up together, and make a mount of it over againſt the hill wherein theſe barbarous people reſided; who imagining that all this preparation was for the raiſing of a fort in order to attack them, laughed at it at firſt as a ridiculous impracticable deſign; however he continued the work till the evening, and then brought his ſoldiers back into their camp. The next morning, when a gentle breeze aroſe, and moved the lighteſt parts of the earth, and diſperſed it about like ſmoke, and when the ſun coming to be higher, the bluſtering northerly wind had covered the hills with the duſt, ſome of the ſoldiers turned this new mount of earth over and over, and broke the clods of clay in pieces, whilſt others on horſeback rode through it backward and forward, and raiſed a cloud of duſt, which being committed to the wind, was blown into the dwellings of the *Characitani*, the entrances into which were all towards the north; and there being no other vent or paſſage, than that through which the wind ruſhed in upon them, it quickly blinded their eyes, and filled their lungs, and cauſed a difficulty of breathing, as they could draw in nothing but a ſuffocating air mingled with ſtreams of duſt; ſo that after they had with great difficulty held out two days, they ſurrendered on the third. This ſucceſs added not ſo much to the power of *Sertorius*, as it encreaſed his glory, in letting the world ſee that he was able to conquer thoſe places by art, which were impregnable by arms.

He was generally ſucceſsful during the whole war againſt *Metellus*, who by reaſon of his age and his ſlow temper

temper was not able to reſiſt the activity and bravery of *Sertorius*, who commanded a light army, more like a band of robbers, than a body of regular ſoldiers. But when *Pompey* alſo had paſſed over the *Pyrenæan* mountains, and *Sertorius* had pitched his camp over-againſt him, where both of them gave the utmoſt proofs of their bravery, and of their ſkill both in contriving ſtratagems and defeating thoſe of the enemy, and when it was found *Sertorius* had the advantage, he was highly celebrated even in *Rome* itſelf, as the moſt able commander of his time. For *Pompey*'s reputation was then at the higheſt, after his remarkable exploits under *Sylla*, which had induced that General to confer on him the ſurname of Great, and had procured him the honour of a triumph even before his beard was grown. And this it was which made many of the cities which were then under the power of *Sertorius* to caſt their eyes on *Pompey*, and inclined them to open their gates to him. But they were deterred from it by that ſucceſs which *Sertorius* obtained near the city of *Lauron*, contrary to the expectation of all. For as ſoon as *Sertorius* had laid ſiege to *Lauron*, *Pompey* came with his whole army to relieve it; and there being a hill near the city very advantageouſly ſituated, they both made haſte to ſeize upon it. But *Sertorius* got poſſeſſion of it firſt; and *Pompey* having drawn down his forces, was not ſorry that it had thus ſucceeded, for he imagined that he had hereby encloſed his enemy between his own army and the city, and ſent in a meſſenger to the citizens of *Lauron*, to bid them be of good courage, and to come upon their walls, where they might ſee *Sertorius* himſelf beſieged. *Sertorius* perceiving their intentions, laughed and ſaid, *He would now teach* Sylla's *ſcholar* (for ſo he called *Pompey* in deriſion) *that it was the part of a General to look behind him rather than before him*; and at the ſame time he gave the beſieged an opportunity of ſeeing ſix thouſand ſoldiers which he had left in his former camp, from whence he marched out to take the hill; ſo that if *Pompey* ſhould aſſault him, they were ready to fall upon his rear. *Pompey* diſcovered this too late, and

not daring to give battle for fear of being encompaſſed in on every ſide, and yet being aſhamed to leave his friends and confederates in ſuch extreme danger, was forced to ſit ſtill and ſee them ruined before his face; for the beſieged deſpairing of relief, delivered up themſelves to *Sertorius*, who ſpared their lives, and granted them their liberties, but burnt their city; which he did not out of anger or cruelty, (for of all commanders that ever were, *Sertorius* ſeems the leaſt to have indulged theſe paſſions) but only that he might humble and mortify the admirers of *Pompey*, and that it might be reported among the *Spaniards*, that though he was ſo near as almoſt to feel the heat of the fire which burnt down the city of his confederates, he did not dare to relieve them.

Sertorius ſuſtained ſome loſſes in theſe wars, but he was always invincible himſelf, and it was by other commanders under him that he ſuffered; and he was more admired for being able to repair his loſſes, than the *Roman* generals were for gaining thoſe advantages againſt him. Thus it happened at the battle of *Sucro* againſt *Pompey*, and at the battle near *Turia*, againſt him and *Metellus* together. It is reported that the battle near the city of *Sucro* was occaſioned by the impatience of *Pompey*, who was afraid leſt *Metellus* ſhould ſhare with him in the victory, and by the willingneſs of *Sertorius* to fight with him before the arrival of *Metellus*. However, *Sertorius* delayed the battle till the evening, conſidering that the darkneſs of the night would be a great diſadvantage to his enemies either in flight or purſuit, as they were ſtrangers, and had no knowledge of the country. When the fight began, it happened that *Sertorius* was not placed directly againſt *Pompey*, but againſt *Afranius*, who commanded the left wing of the *Roman* army, as he commanded the right wing of his own. But when he underſtood that his left wing began to give way to the furious aſſaults of *Pompey*, he committed the care of his right wing to other commanders, and made haſte to relieve thoſe in diſtreſs; and rallying ſome that were flying, and encouraging others that ſtill

kept

kept their ranks, he renewed the fight, routed the enemy, and brought *Pompey* into great danger of his life, who being wounded and thrown from his horſe, very narrowly eſcaped; for the *Africans* who were with *Sertorius*, having taken *Pompey*'s horſe adorned with gold, and covered with rich trappings, quarrelled about dividing of the ſpoil, and gave over the purſuit. *Afranius* in the mean time, as ſoon as *Sertorius* had left his right wing to aſſiſt the other part of his army, overthrew all that oppoſed him, and purſued them to their camp, fell in with them, and plundered them till it was quite dark, knowing nothing of *Pompey*'s overthrow, nor being able to reſtrain his ſoldiers from pillaging. In the mean time *Sertorius* returning with victory, fell upon the forces of *Afranius*, which were in diſorder, and ſlew great numbers of them. The next morning he came into the field again well armed, and offered battle; but perceiving that *Metellus* was near, he drew off, and decamped, ſaying, *If that old woman had not been here, I would have whipped the boy ſoundly, and ſent him back to* Rome.

He was at this time much concerned for the loſs of his hind, which could no where be found; for thereby he was deſtitute of an admirable contrivance to encourage the barbarians, and that at a time when he moſt ſtood in need of it. But ſome of his men as they were wandering in the night chanced to meet her; and knowing her by her colour, they immediately carried her to *Sertorius*. He having thus recovered her, promiſed them that found her a generous reward provided they would not tell of it, and concealed her very carefully. A few days after he appeared in publick with a very chearful look, and declared to the chief commanders of the barbarians, that the Gods had foretold him in a dream, that ſome remarkable good fortune ſhould ſuddenly attend him; and whilſt he was ſeated on his tribunal to anſwer the petitions of thoſe who applied to him, the keepers of the hind let her looſe, and ſhe no ſooner eſpied *Sertorius*, but ſhe ran bounding towards him with great joy, leaped on the tribunal, laid her head on his lap, and licked his hands with her accuſtomed

tomed familiarity. *Sertorius* in return ſtroaked and careſſed her with all the tokens of a real tenderneſs and affection, inſomuch that he wept for joy. All the ſpectators were immediately filled with aſtoniſhment, and afterwards accompanied him to his houſe with clapping of hands and loud ſhouts of joy, conſidering him as above the rank of common men, and as a perſon highly favoured of the Gods; which belief confirmed their courage, and gave them great hopes of ſucceſs in their future undertakings.

When he had reduced his enemies to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions, he was forced to give them battle in the plains near *Saguntum*, to hinder them from foraging and plundering the country. Both parties fought with the utmoſt bravery, and *Memmius*, the the greateſt commander in *Pompey*'s army, was ſlain in the heat of the battle; but *Sertorius* overthrew all before him, and with great ſlaughter of his enemies preſſed forward towards *Metellus*. He making a brave reſiſtance, beyond what could be expected from one of his years, was wounded with a lance. All the *Romans* who ſaw or heard of this were ſeized with ſhame at the thought of having thus abandoned their General, but at the ſame time were inſpired with fury againſt their enemies; ſo that having covered *Metellus* with their ſhields, and brought him off in ſafety, they valiantly repulſed the *Spaniards*. Thus victory changed ſides, and *Sertorius*, that he might afford a more ſecure retreat to his army, and that more forces might be raiſed with greater eaſe, retired into a ſtrong city in the mountains; and though it was the leaſt of his intention to ſuſtain a ſiege, yet he began to repair the walls, and to fortify the gates. By this he deluded his enemies, who came and ſat down before the town, hoping to take it without much reſiſtance, and gave over the purſuit of the *Spaniards*, affording them an opportunity to gather together again, and to raiſe new forces for *Sertorius*, who had ſent commanders to all their cities, with orders when they had ſufficiently encreaſed their numbers, to ſend him word of it. This news he no ſooner received,

but

but he ſallied out and forced his way through his enemies, and eaſily joined the reſt of his army. Having received this conſiderable reinforcement, he fell upon the *Romans* again, and by fiercely aſſaulting them, by alarming them on all ſides, by enſnaring, encompaſſing, and laying ambuſhes for them, he cut off all their proviſions by land, while with his ſhips of war and piratical veſſels he kept all the coaſt in awe, and hindered their recruits by ſea. By this conduct he forced the *Roman* generals to diſlodge, and to ſeparate from one another. *Metellus* departed into *Gaul*, and *Pompey* wintered among the *Vaccæans* in a wretched condition. Being in extreme want of money, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, to inform them that if they did not ſpeedily ſupply him, he muſt draw off his army; for he had already ſpent his own eſtate in the defence of his country. To theſe extremities the greateſt and moſt powerful commanders of the age were reduced by the ſkill and valour of *Sertorius*; and it was the common opinion in *Rome*, that he would be ſooner in *Italy* than *Pompey*. How far *Metellus* was terrified by him, and at how high a rate he eſteemed him, he plainly declared, when he offered by proclamation to any *Roman* that ſhould kill him an hundred talents and twenty thouſand acres of land, and leave, if he were baniſhed, to return; attempting to deſtroy him by treachery when he deſpaired of ever being able to overcome him in open war. And when afterwards he gained ſome advantage in a fight againſt *Sertorius*, he was ſo wonderfully pleaſed and tranſported with his good fortune, that he cauſed himſelf to be ſtyled *Imperator*, and ſuffered all the cities through which he paſſed to honour him with altars and ſacrifices; where indulging himſelf in ſplendid entertainments, he would ſit drinking in his triumphal robes, with garlands upon his head, while images of victory were introduced by the motion of machines bringing in with them crowns and trophies of gold to preſent to him, and companies of young men and women danced before him, and complimented him with ſongs of joy and triumph. But he rendered himſelf deſervedly ridi-

culous

culous by being ſo exceſſively elated with the thoughts of purſuing one that retired of his own accord, and for having once got the better of him, whom he uſed to call *Sylla*'s *fugitive*, and his forces *the remainder of the ſcattered troops of* Carbo.

The generoſity of *Sertorius* ſignally appeared when he appointed a ſenate, and called together all the *Roman* ſenators who fled from *Rome*, and came and reſided with him. Out of theſe he choſe *Prætors* and *Quæſtors*, and ſettled his government according to the *Roman* laws and conſtitutions. And though he made uſe of the arms, riches, and cities of the *Spaniards*, yet he would never permit them ſo much as to mention any thing of government, but ſet *Roman* officers and commanders over them, whereby he ſhowed that his deſign was to reſtore liberty to the *Romans*, and not to increaſe the power of the *Spaniards* againſt them. For he was a ſincere lover of his country, and had a great deſire to return home; but in his adverſe fortune he ſhowed an undaunted courage, and never made any mean ſubmiſſions to his enemies; and when he was in proſperity, and in the height of his victories, he ſent word to *Metellus* and *Pompey*, that he was ready to lay down his arms, and live a private life, if he were allowed to return home, declaring, that he had rather be the meaneſt citizen in *Rome*, than ſupreme commander of the whole world in any place beſides. It is thought that his great deſire to reviſit his country was not a little increaſed by the reſpect which he had for his mother, by whom he was brought up in his tender years, after the death of his father, and upon whom he had placed his entire affection: and after his friends had ſent for him into *Spain* to be their General, as ſoon as he heard of his mother's death, he almoſt deſtroyed himſelf with grief; for he lay ſeven days together without giving the word to the ſoldiers, or being ſeen by the neareſt of his friends. And when the chief commanders of the army and perſons of the greateſt note came about his tent, they with great difficulty prevailed

vailed with him at laſt to come abroad and ſpeak to his ſoldiers, and to take upon him the management of affairs, which were in a proſperous condition. By all this it appears that he was of a mild and compaſſionate temper, and naturally inclined to eaſe and repoſe, and that he accepted of the command of an army contrary to his own diſpoſition; for not being able to live in ſafety, he was forced by his enemies to take arms, and to have recourſe to war for the neceſſary defence of his perſon.

His treaty with *Mithridates* is a ſtrong proof of his magnanimity. That Prince, after he had been overthrown by *Sylla*, had recovered himſelf, and like a vigorous wreſtler deſirous to try another fall, was again endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh his power in *Aſia*. At this time the great fame of *Sertorius* was frequently celebrated in all places; and the merchants who ſailed from the weſtern parts of *Europe* to *Aſia*, entertained the *Aſiaticks* and the inhabitants of *Pontus* with accounts of *Sertorius*'s exploits as with a kind of foreign merchandize which they imported. *Mithridates* was earneſtly deſirous to ſend an embaſſy to him, being alſo highly encouraged to it by his boaſting flatterers, who comparing *Mithridates* to *Pyrrhus*, and *Sertorius* to *Hannibal*, perſuaded him that the *Romans* would never be able to make any conſiderable reſiſtance againſt ſuch a genius and ſuch great power, when they ſhould be attacked at once by the ableſt General and the greateſt King in the univerſe. *Mithridates* therefore ſent his ambaſſadors into *Spain*, with letters to *Sertorius*, in which he offered to ſupport him with money and ſhips to enable him to continue the war, provided *Sertorius* would ſecure to him the poſſeſſion of all he had ſurrendered to the *Romans* in his treaty with *Sylla*.

As ſoon as theſe ambaſſadors were arrived, *Sertorius* aſſembled his council, which he had named *the Senate*. The reſt entirely approved of the conditions, and were deſirous immediately to accept of the offer, as *Mithridates* deſired nothing of them but a name, and an empty title

title to places not in their power to diſpoſe of, in recompence of which he would ſupply them with what they then moſt wanted. But *Sertorius* would by no means agree to it, declaring, that as he was willing that *Mithridates* ſhould reign over *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, countries accuſtomed to a monarchical government, and not belonging to *Rome*, ſo he could never conſent that he ſhould ſeize or detain a province, which the *Romans* having firſt poſſeſſed by a juſt title were deprived of by him, and which he afterwards loſt in war to *Fimbria*, and at laſt had quitted upon a treaty of peace with *Sylla*; *for*, ſaid he, *It is my duty to enlarge the* Roman *dominions by my victories, and not to encreaſe my own power, by the diminution of the* Roman *territories: for a generous man, though he willingly accepts of victory, when it comes accompanied with honour, yet will not even defend himſelf, or ſave his own life, upon terms that are diſhonourable.*

When this was related to *Mithridates*, he was ſtruck with admiration, and ſaid to his intimate friends, *What will* Sertorius *enjoin us to do, when he comes to be ſeated in the ſenate-houſe in* Rome, *who at preſent, when he is driven out as far as the* Atlantick *ocean, ſets bounds to our kingdom, and threatens us with war, if we attempt the recovery of* Aſia? However they came to this agreement, which was ratified by oath, that *Mithridates* ſhould enjoy the free poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia* and *Bithynia*, that *Sertorius* ſhould ſend him ſoldiers, and a General for his army, and that the King in return ſhould ſupply him with three thouſand talents, and forty ſhips. *Marcus Marius* a *Roman* ſenator, who had quitted *Rome* to follow *Sertorius*, was ſent General into *Aſia*, by whoſe conduct when *Mithridates* had reduced divers of the *Aſiatick* cities, *Marius* made his entrance with the rods and axes carried before him, and *Mithridates* followed in the ſecond place, voluntarily waiting upon him. However ſome of theſe cities he ſet at liberty, and others he freed from taxes, ſignifying to them, *that theſe privileges were granted to them by the favour of* Sertorius.

torius. By this means *Aſia*, which had been miſerably tormented by the inſatiableneſs of the publicans, and oppreſſed by the inſolent pride and covetouſneſs of the ſoldiers, was inſpired with new hopes, and wiſhed for that change of government which they expected from *Sertorius*.

But in *Spain* the ſenators and others of the nobility, who were about *Sertorius*, and equal to him in rank and dignity, had no ſooner conceived hopes of being able to make head againſt their enemies, and got the better of their fears, but envy immediately and ſenſeleſs jealouſies inflamed their minds againſt *Sertorius*. Theſe were headed by *Perpenna*, who being inſolently vain of his noble birth, was ambitious of the ſupreme command. He began with uttering ſeditious diſcourſes in private amongſt his intimate friends. *What evil genius*, ſaid he, *hurries us perpetually from worſe to worſe? We who diſdained, when we were at home, to obey the dictates of* Sylla, *who has the dominion both of ſea and land, are come hither to our deſtruction, hoping to enjoy liberty, where we have made ourſelves voluntary ſlaves, and are become the contemptible guards and attendants of the baniſhed* Sertorius; *he gives us a name that renders us ridiculous to all that hear it, calling us the ſenate, though we undergo the ſame labour, are ſubject to the ſame commands and expoſed to the ſame inſolence with the* Spaniards *and* Luſitanians. By theſe diſcourſes he continually ſeduced them; and many who could not be brought to rebel openly againſt *Sertorius*, fearing his great power and authority, were prevailed on to endeavour to deſtroy his intereſt ſecretly. For by abuſing the *Luſitanians* and *Spaniards*, by inflicting ſevere puniſhments upon them, by raiſing exorbitant taxes, and by pretending that all this was done by the command of *Sertorius*, they cauſed great troubles, and made many cities revolt: and thoſe who were ſent to mitigate and heal theſe differences, rather exaſperated them, encreaſed the number of his enemies, and left them at their return more obſtinate and rebellious than they found

found them. This ſo highly incenſed *Sertorius*, and cauſed ſo great an alteration in his former clemency and humanity, that he behaved with great injuſtice and cruelty towards the ſons of the *Spaniards* who were educated at *Oſca*, putting ſome of them to death, and ſelling others.

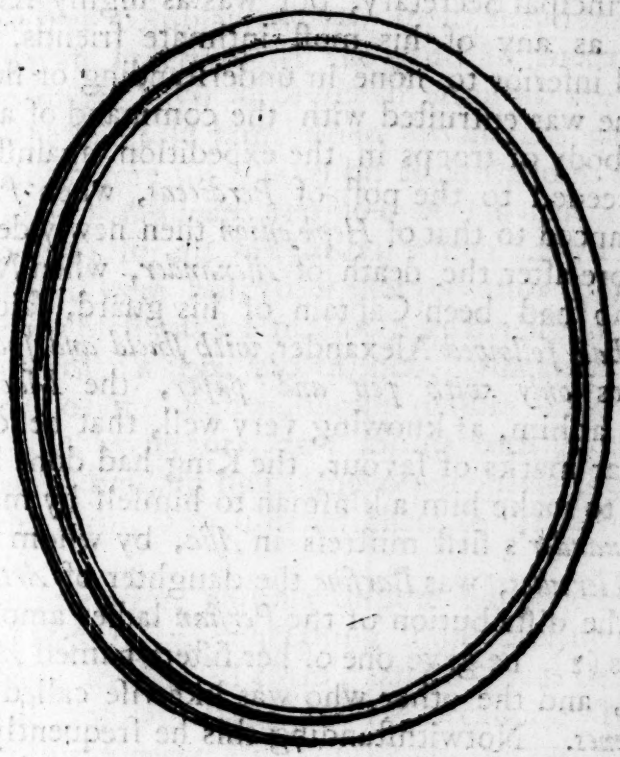
In the mean time *Perpenna* having encreaſed the number of his conſpirators, drew in *Manlius* a chief commander in the army. This *Manlius* was at that time in love with a boy, and as a proof of his affection diſcovered the whole conſpiracy to him, and preſſed him to neglect his rivals, and reſerve himſelf wholly for him, who was to be a great man very ſoon. The youth having a greater inclination for *Auſidius*, diſcloſed all to him, which much ſurprized and amazed him; for he was alſo one of the confederacy, but knew not that *Manlius* was engaged in it; but when the youth began to name *Perpenna*, *Gracinus*, and others, who he knew very well were conſpirators, he was very much terrified and aſtoniſhed, but made light of it to the youth, bidding him not regard what *Manlius* ſaid, who was a vain boaſting fellow. However he went preſently to *Perpenna*, and giving him notice of the danger they were in, and of the ſhortneſs of their time, deſired him immediately to put their deſigns in execution. When all the confederates had conſented to it, they provided a meſſenger who brought feigned letters to *Sertorius*, in which he had notice of a victory obtained by one of his lieutenants, and of a great ſlaughter made of his enemies; and as *Sertorius*, being extremely well pleaſed, was ſacrificing and giving thanks to the gods for his proſperous ſucceſs, *Perpenna* invited him and thoſe with him (who were all conſpirators) to an entertainment, and being very importunate, prevailed with him to come. At all ſuppers and entertainments where *Sertorius* was preſent, great order and decency was obſerved; for he would not endure to hear or ſee any thing that was indecent, ſo that their freedom and mirth was always modeſt and inoffenſive.

But in the midſt of this entertainment, thoſe who ſought occaſion to quarrel, fell into very diſſolute diſcourſe, and pretending to be very drunk, behaved in a very inſolent manner, on purpoſe to provoke him. *Sertorius* being either offended with their ill behaviour, or ſuſpecting their deſign from this unuſual diſreſpect, and from their manner of ſpeaking which was not impetuous enough for men really drunk, changed his poſture and threw himſelf backward on his couch, as one that neither heard nor regarded them. Then *Perpenna* took a cup full of wine, and as he was drinking, let it fall out of his hand, and made a noiſe, which was the ſign agreed on among them. Upon this *Antonius* who was next to *Sertorius*, immediately wounded him with his ſword, and whilſt *Sertorius* turned and ſtrove to get up, *Antonius* threw himſelf upon his breaſt, and held both his hands, ſo that without being in the leaſt able to defend himſelf, he lay expoſed to the fury of the reſt of the conſpirators, who fell upon him and diſpatched him.

Upon the firſt news of his death, moſt of the *Spaniards* left the conſpirators, and ſending ambaſſadors to *Pompey* and *Metellus*, yielded themſelves up to them. *Perpenna* attempted to do ſomething with thoſe that remained; but he made ſo ill uſe of *Sertorius*'s arms and preparations for war, that he ſoon made it evident to all, that he underſtood no more how to command, than he knew how to obey. When he came againſt *Pompey* he was ſoon overthrown, and taken priſoner; neither did he bear this laſt affliction with any dignity; for having *Sertorius*'s papers in his hands, he offered to ſhow *Pompey* letters from perſons of conſular dignity, and of the higheſt quality in *Rome*, written with their own hands, expreſly to invite *Sertorius* into *Italy*, and to let him know what great numbers there were that earneſtly deſired to alter the preſent ſtate of affairs, and to make a change in the government. Upon this occaſion *Pompey* behaved not like a young man, but as one of a mature and ſolid judgment; whereby

he freed *Rome* from great fears, and prevented dangerous innovations; for he put all *Sertorius*'s papers together, and burnt them without reading one of them or ſuffering them to be read by any other perſon, and cauſed *Perpenna* immediately to be put to death, leſt by diſcovering the names of the writers further troubles and revolutions might enſue.

Of the reſt of the conſpirators, ſome were taken and ſlain by the command of *Pompey*, others fled into *Africa*, and were attacked by the *Moors*, who ſlew them with their darts; and in a ſhort time not one of them was left alive, except only *Auſidius*, the rival of *Manlius*, who hiding himſelf, or not being much enquired after, died an old man, in an obſcure village in *Spain*, in extreme poverty, and univerſally hated.



EUMENES.

DURIS reports that *Eumenes* the *Cardian* was the ſon of a poor waggoner in the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, but (1) liberally educated, both as to learning and exerciſes. He ſays that while he was but young, *Philip* paſſing through *Cardia*, diverted himſelf with ſeeing the exerciſes of the youth of that place, and that as *Eumenes* diſtinguiſhed himſelf among them by his addreſs and activity, *Philip* was ſo pleaſed with him, as to take him into his ſervice. But they ſeem to ſpeak more probably, who tell us, that *Philip* advanced *Eumenes* for the friendſhip he bore to his father, whoſe gueſt he had formerly been. After the death of *Philip*, he

(1) There were publick ſchools in all their towns and cities, whither children of all conditions had a privilege of going.

he continued in the ſervice of *Alexander*, with the title of his principal Secretary, but was as highly reſpected by him as any of his moſt intimate friends, being eſteemed inferior to none in underſtanding or fidelity; ſo that he was entruſted with the command of a conſiderable body of troops in the expedition againſt *India*, and ſucceeded to the poſt of *Perdiccas*, when *Perdiccas* was advanced to that of *Hephæſtion* then newly deceaſed. Wherefore after the death of *Alexander*, when *Neoptolemus*, who had been Captain of his guard, ſaid, *That himſelf had followed* Alexander *with ſhield and ſpear, but* Eumenes *only with pen and paper*, the *Macedonians* laughed at him, as knowing very well, that beſide other particular marks of favour, the King had done him the honour to make him a kinſman to himſelf by marriage. For *Alexander*'s firſt miſtreſs in *Aſia*, by whom he had his ſon *Hercules*, was *Barſine* the daughter of *Artabazus*; and in the diſtribution of the *Perſian* ladies amongſt his captains (2), he gave one of her ſiſters named *Apame* to *Ptolemy*, and the other who was likewiſe called *Barſine*, to *Eumenes*. Notwithſtanding this he frequently incurred *Alexander*'s diſpleaſure, particularly once by means of *Hephæſtion*. For *Hephæſtion* having aſſigned to *Euius* a muſician the quarters which the ſervants of *Eumenes* had before taken for their maſter, *Eumenes* in a rage went with *Mentor* (3) to *Alexander*, and upbraided him aloud, telling him, *That the way to be regarded was to throw away their arms, and turn muſicians or tragedians.* *Alexander* at firſt took their part, and chid *Hephæſtion*. But ſoon after he changed his mind, and was angry with *Eumenes*, thinking that the freedom he had taken was rather intended as an affront to him, than a complaint againſt *Hephæſtion*. Afterwards, when *Nearchus* was to be ſent with a fleet into the ocean, *Alexander* borrowed money of his friends (his own treaſury being exhauſted) and aſked three hundred talents of *Eumenes*; but

(2) After *Alexander* had eſpouſed *Statira* the eldeſt daughter of *Darius*, and beſtowed the youngeſt named *Drypetis* on *Hephæſtion*, the better to conceal the ſcandal of theſe nuptials with barbarians, he perſuaded his principal officers and chief favourites to do the ſame

but he ſent a hundred only, pretending that it was not without great difficulty he had raiſed ſo much. *Alexander* neither complained, nor took the money; but gave private orders to ſet the tent of *Eumenes* on fire, that he might have an evident proof of the falſhood of what he had told him, when his money was carried out. But before that could be done the tent was conſumed; and *Alexander* repented of his orders when it was too late; for all his papers which *Eumenes* had in his cuſtody, were burnt on that occaſion. The gold and ſilver which was melted down in the fire, was found to be more than a thouſand talents. *Alexander* however took none of it; but he wrote to the ſeveral *Perſian* princes and governors, and to his own generals and lieutenants, bidding them ſend new copies of the papers that were burnt, and ordered them to be delivered to *Eumenes*.

Some time after, another diſpute happened between him and *Hephæſtion*, concerning ſome preſent that had been made to one of them; and a great deal of reproachful language paſſed on the occaſion. Notwithſtanding this *Eumenes* ſtill continued in favour, till the death of *Hephæſtion*, which happened ſoon after. The King being extremely grieved, and preſuming that all thoſe who had differed with him in his lifetime, now rejoiced at his death, behaved with great ſeverity towards them, eſpecially towards *Eumenes*, whom he often upbraided with the quarrels which he had had with *Hephæſtion*, and the reproaches he had uttered againſt him. But he being a man of great art and addreſs, endeavoured to make that which had cauſed his diſgrace turn to his advantage by zealouſly ſeconding the extreme deſire which *Alexander* expreſſed to honour the memory of his friend, ſuggeſting divers inventions to do him honour, and contributing very largely and readily towards erecting a monument for him. After *Alexander*'s death, a diſpute

ſame thing, chuſing for them eighty virgins out of the moſt honourable families in *Perſia*. *Quint. Curt. Lib.* x.

(3) *Mentor* was the brother of *Memnon*, whoſe widow *Barſine* was *Alexander*'s miſtreſs.

(4) There

a diſpute happening between the *Phalanx* and his more intimate friends, *Eumenes*, though in his judgment he inclined to the latter, yet in his words and actions ſtood neuter, as if he thought it unbecoming him, who was a ſtranger, to interpoſe in the quarrels of the *Macedonians*. And when the reſt of *Alexander*'s friends left *Babylon*, he ſtaid behind, and in a great meaſure pacified the ſoldiers, and diſpoſed them towards an accommodation. When the officers had agreed among themſelves, and quelled the mutiny of the ſoldiers, they ſhared the ſeveral provinces and governments among them; *Eumenes* was made Governor of *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, and all the coaſt upon the *Pontic* ſea as far as *Trapezus*, which at that time was not ſubject to the *Macedonians* (for *Ariarathes* was King of it) but *Leonatus* and *Antigonus*, with a great army, were to put him in poſſeſſion of it. *Antigonus* who was now grown haughty, and looked on all other men with contempt, took no notice of *Perdiccas*'s letters; but *Leonatus* with his army came down into *Phrygia* for the ſervice of *Eumenes*. However being viſited by *Hecatæus* the tyrant of the *Cardians*, and requeſted rather to relieve *Antipater* and the *Macedonians* that were beſieged in *Lamia*, he reſolved upon that expedition, inviting *Eumenes* to a ſhare in it, and endeavouring to reconcile him to *Hecatæus*; for there was an hereditary feud between them upon ſome political account; and *Eumenes* had often declared openly, that *Hecatæus* was a tyrant, and had exhorted *Alexander* to reſtore the *Cardians* to their liberty. Wherefore at this time alſo he declined the expedition propoſed, pretending that he feared leſt *Antipater*, who already hated him, ſhould, for that reaſon, and to gratify *Hecatæus*, kill him. *Leonatus* ſo far believed it as to impart to *Eumenes* his whole deſign, which, as he publickly gave out, was to aid *Antipater*, but it was in truth to ſeize the kingdom of *Macedon*; and he ſhowed him letters from *Cleopatra*, wherein ſhe invited him to *Pella* and promiſed to marry him. But *Eumenes*, whether he feared *Antipater*, or whether he deſpaired of receiving any ſervice from *Leonatus*, whom he

he looked upon as a raſh, violent, and unſteady man, ſtole away from him by night with his whole equipage, which conſiſted of three hundred horſe, and two hundred of his domeſticks well armed, and with all his treaſure, which amounted to five thouſand talents, and fled to *Perdiccas*, to whom he diſcovered *Leonatus*'s deſign, and thereby gained great intereſt with him, and was made one of his council. Soon after, *Perdiccas* in perſon, at the head of a powerful army, conducted *Eumenes* into *Cappadocia*, and having taken *Ariarathes* priſoner, and ſubdued the whole country, declared him Governor of it. *Eumenes* immediately diſpoſed of the chief cities to his own friends, and appointed ſuch perſons as he himſelf approved captains of garriſons, judges, and receivers of the revenues, *Perdiccas* not at all interpoſing. After this, he departed with *Perdiccas*, being deſirous to ſhow his reſpect to him, and not thinking it conſiſtent with his intereſt to be abſent from court. But *Perdiccas* imagining that he ſhould be able of himſelf to effect what he had been contriving, and conſidering that the provinces he left behind might ſtand in need of an active and faithful Governor, diſmiſſed *Eumenes* when he came into *Cilicia*, under colour of ſending him to his own government, but, in truth, to ſecure *Armenia*, which was bordering upon it, and was unſettled through the practices of *Neoptolemus*. This *Neoptolemus* was an extremely vain and arrogant man. *Eumenes* endeavoured to reſtrain him by perſuaſion and argument; and perceiving that the *Macedonian Phalanx* were become very inſolent and ungovernable, he contrived to raiſe a body of horſe that might be able to keep them in awe. To this end he granted all manner of immunities, and exemption from taxes, to as many of the people of the country as underſtood horſemanſhip. He likewiſe bought up a great number of horſes, which he gave among ſuch of his own men as he moſt confided in, inflaming the courage of his ſoldiers by many gifts and honours, and inuring their bodies to ſervice by frequent marches and exerciſes; ſo that ſome of the *Macedonians* were aſtoniſhed, and others overjoyed, to ſee that in ſo ſhort

a time he had got together no leſs than ſix thouſand three hundred horſe fit for ſervice.

When *Craterus* and *Antipater*, having ſubdued *Greece*, were advanced into *Aſia*, with an intention to quell the power of *Perdiccas*, and were reported to deſign an attack upon *Cappadocia*, *Perdiccas* being himſelf to march againſt *Ptolemy*, made *Eumenes* commander in chief of all the forces of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*; and to that purpoſe he wrote letters, requiring *Alcetas* and *Neoptolemus* to be obedient to *Eumenes*, and giving full commiſſion to *Eumenes* to manage every thing as he thought fit. *Alcetas* abſolutely refuſed to ſerve, becauſe his *Macedonians* (he ſaid) were aſhamed to fight againſt *Antipater*, and loved *Craterus* ſo well, that they were ready to receive him for their commander. On the other hand, it was viſible that *Neoptolemus* deſigned treachery againſt *Eumenes*; for when he was ſent for, he refuſed to come, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence. Here *Eumenes* firſt found the benefit of his own foreſight and contrivance; for his foot being beaten, he routed *Neoptolemus* with his horſe, and took all his baggage; and cloſely purſuing the phalanx which he had broken and diſordered, he obliged the men to lay down their arms, and take an oath to ſerve under him. *Neoptolemus*, with ſome few ſtragglers which he collected together, fled to *Craterus* and *Antipater*. *Eumenes* had juſt before received an embaſſy from them, inviting him over to their party, and promiſing to ſecure him in the government he was already poſſeſſed of, to add others to them, and to encreaſe the number of his forces, provided of an enemy he would become a friend to *Antipater*, and of a friend, would not become an enemy to *Craterus*. To which *Eumenes* replied, *That he could not ſo ſuddenly be reconciled to his old enemy* Antipater, *eſpecially ſince he ſaw him uſe his friends like enemies*; *but that he was ready to reconcile* Craterus *to* Perdiccas *upon juſt and equitable terms*; *but that if he attacked* Perdiccas, *he was reſolved to aſſiſt the injured to his laſt breath, and would rather loſe his life than betray his word.*

Antipater receiving this anſwer, determined to conſider of the whole affair at leiſure. In the mean time *Neoptolemus* arrived, and acquainted them with the ill ſucceſs of the battle, and requeſted both of them to aſſiſt him, but eſpecially *Craterus*, becauſe the *Macedonians* loved him ſo exceedingly, that if they ſaw but his hat, or heard his voice, they would all arm and follow him. And indeed *Craterus* had a great reputation among them, and the ſoldiers, after *Alexander*'s death, were extremely fond of him, remembering how often he had for their ſakes incurred *Alexander*'s diſpleaſure, by reſtraining him from following the *Perſian* faſhions, to which he very much inclined, and by defending the cuſtoms of his country, when through pride and delicacy they began to be diſregarded. *Craterus* therefore ſent *Antipater* into *Cilicia*, and himſelf and *Neoptolemus* marched with a great army againſt *Eumenes*, expecting to come upon him unawares, and to find his army diſordered with revelling after the late victory. Now that *Eumenes* ſhould ſuſpect his coming, and be prepared to receive him, is indeed a greater argument of his vigilance than of his ſagacity: but that he ſhould contrive both to conceal from his enemies the poſture he was in, and to prevent his own men from diſcovering whom they were to fight with, ſo as to make them ſerve againſt *Craterus* himſelf, without knowing that he commanded the enemy; this ſeems an inſtance of art and addreſs peculiar to himſelf. He gave out therefore, that *Neoptolemus* and *Pigris* with ſome *Cappadocian* and *Paphlagonian* horſe were coming againſt him. The night he intended to decamp, and march to meet them, he fell into a ſound ſleep, and had this extraordinary dream: he fancied he ſaw two *Alexanders* ready to engage, each commanding his reſpective phalanx, the one aſſiſted by *Minerva*, the other by *Ceres*; and that after a hot diſpute, he on whoſe ſide *Minerva* appeared was beaten; and *Ceres* gathering ſome corn, wove it into a crown for the victor. This viſion *Eumenes* interpreted as boding ſucceſs to himſelf, who was to fight for a fruitful country, the whole being ſowed with corn, and the fields

fields covered ſo thick with it, that they made an appearance ſuitable to a ſtate of profound peace. And he was further confirmed in his opinion, when he underſtood that the word which *Neoptolemus* and *Craterus* had given to the ſoldiers was *Minerva* and *Alexander*; the word therefore which he gave to his men was *Ceres* and *Alexander*; and he ordered them to make garlands for themſelves, and to dreſs their arms with wreaths of corn. He was ſtrongly tempted to diſcover to his captains and officers whom they were to engage with, and not to conceal a ſecret of ſuch moment in his own breaſt alone; yet he kept to his firſt reſolution, and ventured to run the hazard of his own judgment. When he came to give battle, he would not truſt any *Macedonian* to engage *Craterus*, but appointed two troops of foreign horſe, commanded by *Pharnabazus* ſon to *Artabazus*, and *Phœnix* of *Tenedos*, with orders to charge as ſoon as ever they ſaw the enemy, without giving them leiſure to ſpeak or retire, or receiving any meſſage from them; for he exceedingly feared the *Macedonians*, leſt, knowing *Craterus*, they ſhould go over to his ſide. He himſelf, with three hundred of his beſt horſe, led the right wing againſt *Neoptolemus*. When the enemy, having paſt a little hill, came in view, and *Eumenes*'s men charged with more than ordinary impetuoſity, *Craterus* was amazed, and ſeverely reproached *Neoptolemus* for deceiving him with hopes that the *Macedonians* would revolt; however he exhorted his officers to behave with reſolution, and rode forward to the attack. The firſt engagement was very fierce, and the ſpears being ſoon broke to pieces, they came to cloſe fighting with their ſwords. And here *Craterus* did by no means diſhonour *Alexander*, but ſlew ſeveral of his enemies, and repulſed many that aſſaulted him; but at laſt he received a wound in his ſide from a *Thracian*, and fell from his horſe. Being down, many not knowing him went over him; but *Gorgias*, one of *Eumenes*'s captains, knew him, and alighting from his horſe, guarded his body, which was now in a weak condition, and even in the very agony of death. In the mean time

time *Neoptolemus* and *Eumenes* were engaged, who being inveterate and mortal enemies, fought for one another, though they did not meet in the two firſt charges; however in the third they met, and drawing their ſwords, with loud ſhouts immediately attacked each other. Their horſes running full ſpeed ſtruck againſt each other in front, like two gallies; then their riders quitting their bridles, took mutual hold, each ſtriving to pull off the helmet of his enemy, and to looſen his breaſtplate. While they were thus ſtripping one another, their horſes went from under them, and they fell together to the ground, both of them keeping their hold, and ſtruggling like wreſtlers. *Neoptolemus* beginning to riſe firſt, *Eumenes* wounded him in the ham, and got upon his feet before him. *Neoptolemus*, who had one of his legs diſabled by the wound in his ham, reſted upon his knee, and fought in that poſture with a great deal of courage, but without being able to hurt his enemy mortally; at laſt receiving a wound in his neck, he grew faint, and dropt down. *Eumenes* inſtantly fell upon him, began to ſtrip him of his armour, and bitterly reviled him, and was ſo tranſported by his rage and inveterate malice againſt him, that he perceived not that his ſword was ſtill in his hand, ſo that *Neoptolemus* wounded him in the groin as he lay upon him. But indeed the wound rather frighted than hurt him, being the laſt weak effort of a dying perſon. Having ſtript the dead body, ill as he was of the wounds he had received in his legs and arms, he mounted his horſe again, and made towards the left wing of his army, which he ſuppoſed to be ſtill engaged. Hearing of the death of *Craterus*, he rode up to him, and finding there was yet ſome life in him, he alighted from his horſe and wept; and giving him his right hand, inveighed bitterly againſt *Neoptolemus*, and lamented both *Craterus*'s misfortune, and his own hard fate, that he ſhould be neceſſitated to fight againſt an old friend and acquaintance, and either to do or ſuffer ſo great an injury.

This victory *Eumenes* obtained about ten days after the former, and got great reputation from it both for his

his conduct and his valour. But on the contrary, it created him great envy both among his allies, and his enemies, that he, a ſtranger and a foreigner, ſhould employ the forces and arms of *Macedon* to cut off one of the braveſt and moſt conſiderable men of that nation. Had the news of this defeat come time enough to *Perdiccas*, he would doubtleſs have been the greateſt of all the *Macedonians*; but he being ſlain in a mutiny in *Egypt* two days before the news arrived, the *Macedonians* in a rage decreed *Eumenes*'s death, giving joint commiſſion to *Antigonus* and *Antipater* to proſecute the war againſt him. In the mean time *Eumenes* meeting with the King's ſtud, which were feeding upon mount *Ida*, he took as many as he had occaſion for, and ſent bills of diſcharge for them to thoſe who had the care of them. At this *Antipater* laughed, and ſaid *he admired the warineſs of the man, who ſeemed to think that an account of the King's effects would either be expected from him, or given to him.* *Eumenes* had deſigned to engage in the plains of *Lydia* near *Sardis*, both becauſe his chief ſtrength conſiſted in his cavalry, and becauſe he was deſirous to let *Cleopatra* ſee how powerful he was. But at the particular requeſt of that Princeſs, who was afraid leſt if he ſhould wait there for the enemy, it might give ſome umbrage to *Antipater*, and make him accuſe her of maintaining a correſpondence with him, he marched into the upper *Phrygia*, and wintered at *Celænæ*. There *Alcetas*, *Polemon*, and *Docimus* entered into a diſpute with him about the command of the army; whereupon he ſaid, *This makes good that obſervation; Every one thinks of advancing himſelf, but no one thinks on the danger he runs of ruining all, and himſelf among the reſt.*

He had promiſed his ſoldiers that they ſhould receive their pay within three days; but for want of money to make good his promiſe, he ſold them all the farms and caſtles in the country, together with the men and cattle that were upon them. Every Captain or officer that had bought a caſtle, took ſome battering engines with which he was furniſhed by *Eumenes*, and went to take poſſeſſion by force; and when he had taken it he divided

the

the ſpoil among his company, proportionably to every man's arrears. Hereby *Eumenes* came again to be beloved; ſo that when letters were found thrown about the camp by the enemy, promiſing a hundred talents, beſides great honours, to any one that ſhould kill *Eumenes*, the *Macedonians* were extremely offended, and made an order that from that time a thouſand of their beſt men ſhould continually guard his perſon, and keep ſtrict watch about him by night in their turns. This order was chearfully obeyed, and they gladly received of *Eumenes* ſuch honours as princes uſe to confer upon their favourites: for he had a right to beſtow purple hats and cloaks, which among the *Macedonians* were reckoned the moſt honourable preſents the King could give.

Proſperity elevates men of little minds, and external grandeur throws a falſe glare of dignity around them which may dazzle the eyes of ſuperficial obſervers; but the truly noble and ſteady mind manifeſts its native greatneſs moſt in difficulties and misfortunes. And thus it was with *Eumenes*. For having by the treachery of one of his own officers loſt the field to *Antigonus* at *Orcyni* in *Cappadocia*, he gave the traitor no opportunity to eſcape to the enemy, but immediately ſeized and hanged him. Then in his flight taking a contrary courſe to his purſuers, he ſtole by them unawares, returned to the place where the battle had been fought, and encamped. There he gathered up the dead bodies, and burnt them with the wood taken from the doors in the neighbouring villages. The officers were burnt apart from the common ſoldiers; and after he had raiſed over them heaps of earth, which ſerved as ſepulchral monuments, he decamped, and continued his march; ſo that *Antigonus*, who came thither ſoon after, was aſtoniſhed at his great courage and firm reſolution.

After this as he was upon his march, the baggage of *Antigonus* fell in his way, and he might eaſily have taken many captives, both ſlaves and freemen, and much wealth collected from the ſpoils of ſo many bat-

tles

tles and incurſions; but he feared leſt his men, overladen with booty, might become unfit for flight, impatient of fatigue, and unwilling to hold out ſo long time as he deſigned; for upon this he laid the main ſtreſs of his hopes, that *Antigonus* would at laſt be weary of purſuing him and turn his courſe another way. But then conſidering it would be extremely difficult to reſtrain the *Macedonians* from plunder, when it ſeemed to offer itſelf, he ordered his troops to halt, and bait their horſes, and then attack the enemy. In the mean time he ſent privately to *Menander*, who had care of the enemies baggage, pretending a concern for him upon the ſcore of former friendſhip and acquaintance, and therefore adviſing him to quit the plain, and ſecure himſelf upon the ſide of a neighbouring hill, where the horſe might not be able to hem him in. When *Menander*, ſenſible of his danger, had packed up the baggage and removed to the hill, *Eumenes* openly ſent his ſcouts to diſcover the enemy's poſture, and commanded his men to arm, and bridle their horſes, as deſigning immediately to give battle. But when the ſcouts returned with news that *Menander* had ſecured himſelf in ſo difficult a poſt, that it was impoſſible to take him, *Eumenes* pretending to be much concerned at the diſappointment drew off his men another way. It is ſaid, that when *Menander* reported this afterwards to *Antigonus*, and the *Macedonians* commended *Eumenes*, imputing it to his ſingular good-nature, that having it in his power to make ſlaves of their children, and raviſh their wives, he forbore, and ſpared them all, *Antigonus* replied, *He did not regard us, my friends, but himſelf, being loth to wear ſo many ſhackles when he deſigned to fly.* From that time *Eumenes* daily flying, and wandering about, perſuaded many of his ſoldiers to diſband, whether out of kindneſs to them, or unwillingneſs to lead about ſuch a body of men, as were too few to engage, and too many to fly undiſcovered. Being come to the citadel of *Nora*, in the confines

(4) There were a hundred who left him upon this occaſion, ſo that he had not above ſix hundred of his men who remained with

confines of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*, with five hundred horſe and two hundred foot, he again diſmiſt as many of his friends as deſired it, (4) through fear either of the ſtraitneſs of the place, or want of proviſions; and embracing them with all demonſtrations of kindneſs, he gave them leave to depart. *Antigonus*, when he came before this fort, deſired to have an interview with *Eumenes* before the ſiege; but he anſwered, *That* Antigonus *had many friends who might command in his room, if any misfortune ſhould befal him; but they whoſe defence he had undertaken, had no body to ſubſtitute in his place; wherefore if* Antigonus *deſired to treat with him, he ſhould firſt ſend hoſtages.* *Antigonus* inſiſted, that *Eumenes* ſhould firſt come to him, he being the greater man; but *Eumenes* replied, *While I am able to wield a ſword, I ſhall think no man greater than myſelf.* However, when, according to *Eumenes*'s demand, *Antigonus* had ſent his nephew *Ptolemy* to the fort, *Eumenes* went out to him, and they mutually embraced with great civility and friendſhip, as having formerly been very intimate. After a long converſation, when *Eumenes* made no mention of his own pardon and ſecurity, but demanded to be confirmed in his ſeveral governments, and withal to be honourably rewarded for his ſervice, all that were preſent were aſtoniſhed at his courage and ſpirit; and many others of the *Macedonians* flocked to ſee what ſort of perſon *Eumenes* was; for ſince the death of *Craterus*, no man had been ſo much talked of in the army. But *Antigonus* being afraid for him, leſt he might ſuffer ſome violence, firſt commanded the ſoldiers to keep off, calling out, and ordering thoſe to be driven back with ſtones that continued to preſs forward, notwithſtanding his commands to the contrary. At laſt receiving *Eumenes* into his arms, and keeping off the crowd with his guards, he not without great difficulty returned him ſafe into the fort.

Antigonus having built a wall round *Nora*, left a force ſufficient to carry on the ſiege, and drew off the reſt of his

with him; but they were all determined to ſhare in his danger, and to die with him.

(5) This

his army. The fort was abundantly ſtored with corn, water, and ſalt, but in want of every thing elſe fit to eat, ſo that *Eumenes* was forced to feed upon dry bread; and yet even with that food he kept a chearful table for his friends, inviting them ſeverally in their turns, and ſeaſoning his entertainment with a kind and agreeable behaviour. His countenance was graceful and pleaſing; he did not look like a rough ſoldier, harraſſed and worn out by the fatigues of war, but was ſmooth and florid, and his ſhape was as delicate as if his limbs had been carved by art in the moſt accurate proportions. He had not a great force of eloquence, but his manner of ſpeaking was mild and perſuaſive, as appears by ſome of his letters which are ſtill extant.

The greateſt diſtreſs of the beſieged was the ſtraitneſs of the place they were in, the houſes being very ſmall, and the whole place but two furlongs in compaſs; ſo that both they and their horſes fed without exerciſe. Wherefore not only to prevent the languor and ſluggiſhneſs that both might contract by that inactive way of life, but to have them in a condition to fly, if occaſion required, he aſſigned a room fourteen cubits long (the largeſt in all the fort) for the men to walk in, directing them to begin their walk gently, and gradually to mend their pace. And for the horſes, he tied them to the roof of the ſtable with ſtrong halters, which being faſtened about their necks, he with a pully gently raiſed them, till ſtanding upon the ground with their hind feet, they could juſt reach it with the ends of their fore-feet. In this poſture the grooms plied them with whips and noiſe; and the horſes being thus irritated, furiouſly kicked with their hind feet, and ſtrained themſelves to the utmoſt labouring to ſet their fore-feet upon the ground; and thus their whole body was exerciſed, till they were all in a foam. After this exerciſe, which was very proper to give them ſtrength

(5) This was *Hieronymus* of *Cardia*, a countryman of *Eumenes*, and an hiſtorian of great reputation. He wrote a hiſtory of thoſe princes

ſtrength and ſpeed, and to render their limbs pliant and eaſy, he gave them their corn boiled, that they might ſooner diſpatch, and better digeſt it.

The ſiege continuing long, *Antigonus* received advice that *Antipater* was dead in *Macedonia*, and that affairs were embroiled by the differences between *Caſſander* and *Polyperchon*; whereupon he conceived no mean hopes, but purpoſed to make himſelf maſter of all; in order to which he earneſtly deſired to bring *Eumenes* over to his intereſt, that he might have his advice and aſſiſtance. Wherefore he ſent (5) *Hieronymus* with terms of peace, and the form of an oath which was to be taken by *Eumenes*. *Eumenes* firſt corrected part of it, and then referred himſelf to the *Macedonians* themſelves that beſieged him, to be judged by them, which of the two forms was the moſt equitable. *Antigonus* in the beginning of his had ſlightly mentioned the royal family, but the ſequel related to himſelf alone; whereas *Eumenes*, in the correction he had made, named *Olympias* in the firſt place, and the princes her children, and did not ſwear *to be true to* Antigonus *only, and to have the ſame friends and enemies with him*, as contained in the oath drawn up by *Antigonus*, but *to be true to* Olympias *and her children, and to be a friend to their friends, and an enemy to their enemies*. This form the *Macedonians* thinking the more reaſonable, ſwore *Eumenes* accordingly, and raiſed the ſiege, ſending alſo to *Antigonus* for him to ſwear in the ſame terms with *Eumenes*. *Eumenes* then returned all the hoſtages of the *Cappadocians* which he had in *Nora*, and received in exchange horſes, tents, and beaſts of carriage. When this was done, he endeavoured to recall as many as he could of thoſe ſoldiers who had fled after his defeat, and were wandering up and down the country. Of theſe he ſoon got together a body of near a thouſand horſe, (6) and retired with them in great haſte, being ſtill jealous of *Antigonus*, and that with

princes who divided *Alexander*'s dominions between them, and of their ſucceſſors.

(6) *Diodorus Siculus* ſays 2000.

with very good reaſon; for he had not only ordered him to be beſieged again, but ſent a very ſharp anſwer to the *Macedonians*, for admitting the amendments he had made in the oath.

Whilſt *Eumenes* was in his flight, he received letters from ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable perſons in *Macedonia*, who were jealous of the growing power of *Antigonus*. *Olympias* too invited him thither, to take upon him the charge of *Alexander*'s little ſon, whoſe enemies were plotting his deſtruction. He received other letters from *Polyperchon* and King *Philip*, requiring him to make war againſt *Antigonus* with all the forces in *Cappadocia*, and impowering him to take five hundred talents out of the royal treaſure at *Quinda*, in order to re-eſtabliſh his own affairs, and as much more as ſhould be thought neceſſary to carry on the war. They wrote alſo to the ſame effect to *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, the chief officers of the *Argyraſpides*. They having received the letters, treated *Eumenes* outwardly with great reſpect and kindneſs; but it was apparent enough they were full of envy and emulation, and thought it an affront to be commanded by him. *Eumenes* removed their envy, by refuſing to accept the money, as if he had not needed it; but as for their jealouſy and ambition, which made them refuſe to obey him, though they were themſelves very unfit to command, the only remedy he had to apply to that evil was the ſpirit of ſuperſtition, with which he endeavoured to poſſeſs them. He pretended that *Alexander* had appeared to him in a dream, and ſhowed him a regal pavilion richly furniſhed, with a throne in it, and told him, (7) *if they would ſit in council there, he himſelf would be preſent, and proſper all the conſultations and enterprizes which they ſhould begin in his name.* *Antigenes* and *Teutamus* were eaſily

(7) *Diodorus Siculus* has given us a full relation of this particular; and there ſeems to be ſomething wanting here in the account *Plutarch* is giving of this viſion; for in that author *Eumenes* adds, *For this reaſon I am of opinion that we take out of the royal treaſury a ſum ſufficient to make a throne of gold; that upon this throne we ſet the diadem, the ſcepter, and crown, and all the other regal ornaments*

eaſily prevailed upon to believe this, being no more diſpoſed to ſit in council in his tent, than he was to enter under the roof of another. Wherefore they erected a royal tent, and a throne, which they called *Alexander*'s; and there they met to conſult upon all affairs of moment.

Afterwards they advanced into the upper country, and in their march met with *Peuceſtas*, a friend of *Eumenes*, and with ſome other governors of the provinces, who joined forces with them, and greatly encouraged the *Macedonians* with the number and appearance of their men. But as theſe new-comers were grown very mutinous and ungovernable, through the licentiouſneſs in which they had indulged themſelves ever ſince the death of *Alexander*, and were exceedingly diſſolute in their way of living, and beſides had brought with them a ſpirit of arrogance and tyranny, natural to the barbarians, they ſoon grew unconverſable and rude to one another. But they careſſed and flattered the *Macedonians* beyond meaſure, and furniſhed them with money for feaſts and ſacrifices, ſo that in a ſhort time the camp grew to be a place of intemperance and debauch; and the ſoldiers ſeemed to have erected themſelves into a ſort of popular ſtate, where offices were to be obtained by cabal and bribery, as in a real commonwealth. *Eumenes* perceiving that theſe commanders deſpiſed one another, but that all of them ſtood in fear of him, and ſought an opportunity to kill him, pretended to be in want of money, and borrowed many talents, of thoſe eſpecially who moſt hated him, to make them both confide in him, and forbear all violence towards him for fear of loſing their own money. Thus his enemies eſtates were the guard of his

ments belonging to that Prince; that every morning all the commanders offer him a ſacrifice; that they aſſemble in council near the throne, and that the orders be iſſued in his name, as if he was ſtill living, *and providing for the welfare and proſperity of his kingdom.* But *Plutarch* does not make *Eumenes* give this advice. But leaves *Antigenes* and *Teutamus* to come into it by way of conſequence.

his perſon, and by receiving money, he purchaſed ſafety, for which other men uſe to give it.

The *Macedonians*, while there was no appearance of danger, made all their court to thoſe that treated and bribed them; and they had their guards, and affected to appear as Generals. But when *Antigonus* came upon them with a great army, and their affairs ſeemed to call out for a real General, then not only the common ſoldiers caſt their eyes upon *Eumenes*, but even their leaders, who in times of peace and luxury had aſſumed ſo much ſtate and grandeur, all ſubmitted to him, and quietly poſted themſelves as he appointed them. And when *Antigonus* attempted to paſs the river *Paſitigris*, not one of thoſe officers who had been appointed by *Eumenes* to guard the paſs, was even aware of his march; *Eumenes* only met and encountered him, ſlew as many of his men as filled up the river with their carcaſſes, and took four thouſand of them priſoners. And when *Eumenes* was ſick, then eſpecially the *Macedonians* diſcovered that in their judgment, though others could entertain them ſplendidly, he alone knew how to fight and lead an army. For *Peuceſtas* having made a magnificent entertainment in *Perſia*, and given each of the ſoldiers a ſheep wherewith to ſacrifice, flattered himſelf that he ſhould have the greateſt authority among them. But ſoon after when the army was upon the march in queſt of the enemy, *Eumenes* fell ſo dangerouſly ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter at ſome diſtance in the rear, that his reſt might not be diſturbed by any noiſe. When they were a little advanced, they all on a ſudden perceived the enemy, who had paſſed the hills that lay between them, and were marching down into the plain. As ſoon

(8) I wonder *Plutarch* has omitted in this place a circumſtance related by *Diodorus*. After the two armies were ſeparated without coming to action, they encamped about three furlongs diſtance from each other, having a river and ſome ditches between them. And as they lay under great inconveniences in a country that had been exhauſted by the two armies, *Antigonus* ſent his ambaſſadors to the *Satrapæ* and *Macedonians* in the army of *Eumenes*, to perſuade them to quit *Eumenes*, and come over to him, exhorting them

ſoon as they ſaw the brightneſs of their golden armour which glittered in the ſun as they marched down the hill, the elephants with their caſtles on their backs, and the men dreſſed in purple (as their manner was when they were going to give battle) the front halted, and called out for *Eumenes*, declaring *that they would not advance any further unleſs he were at the head of them.* At the ſame time they grounded their arms, gave the word among themſelves to ſtand, and required their officers not to ſtir or expoſe the troops till *Eumenes* was come up to command them.

News of this being brought to *Eumenes*, he haſtened them that carried his litter, and opening the curtains on both ſides, he put on a chearful countenance, and held his hand out to the ſoldiers. As ſoon as they ſaw him, they ſaluted him in the *Macedonian* language, and took up their ſhields, and ſtriking them with their pikes, gave a great ſhout, and challenged the enemy to come on, as if they were afraid of nothing now they had a General to conduct them. But *Antigonus* underſtanding by ſome priſoners he had taken, that *Eumenes* was ſick, and was obliged to be carried in a litter behind the rear of the army, preſumed it would be no hard matter to defeat the reſt while he was indiſpoſed. Wherefore he made the greater haſte to come up with them, and engage. But being come ſo near, as to diſcover how the enemy was drawn up, he was aſtoniſhed, and pauſed for ſome time; at laſt he ſaw the litter as they were carrying it from one wing of the army to the other, and (as his manner was) laughing aloud, he ſaid to his friends, *That litter there, it ſeems, is the thing that offers us battle*; but he immediately ſounded a retreat, and encamped (8).

The

them to it by many magnificent promiſes. But the *Macedonians* rejected theſe offers with indignation, and threatened the ambaſſadors; whereupon *Eumenes*, after he had commended them for their fidelity, related to them this ancient fable: *A lion once falling in love with a young damſel, demanded her in marriage of her father. The father anſwered that he looked on ſuch an alliance as a great honour to his family, but ſtood in fear of his claws and teeth, leſt upon any trifling diſpute that might happen between them after they were married, he*

The *Macedonians* were no ſooner recovered out of their fright, but they returned to their former mutinous practices and inſolent behaviour to their commanders. They diſperſed themſelves through the whole provinces of the *Gabeni*, where they took up their winter quarters, and were ſcattered in ſuch a manner, that the front was near a thouſand furlongs diſtant from the rear. When *Antigonus* was informed of this, he immediately marched towards them, taking the ſhorteſt way, though the country through which he was to paſs was very rugged and difficult and deſtitute of water; but he hoped that if he ſhould ſurprize them thus ſcattered in their winter quarters, the officers would find it a difficult matter to draw the troops together, ſo as to be able to make head againſt him. But when he entered this uninhabited country, where the winds were bleak and boiſterous, and the froſts ſevere, he was very much checked in his march, and his men exceedingly tired. The only relief in this caſe was making continual fires, whereby his enemies got notice of his coming. For the barbarians who dwelt on the mountains bordering upon the deſart, amazed at the multitude of fires they ſaw, ſent meſſengers upon dromedaries, to acquaint *Peuceſtas* with it. He being aſtoniſhed, and finding the reſt

might exerciſe them a little too haſtily upon his daughter. To remove this objection the amorous lion cauſed both his nails and teeth to be drawn; upon which, the father took a cudgel, and ſoon got rid of his enemy. This, continued he, *is the very thing aimed at by* Antigonus, *who makes you large promiſes till he is become maſter of your forces, and then he will make you feel his teeth and claws.* A few days after this, *Eumenes* being informed by ſome deſerters, that *Antigonus* intended to decamp the night following at the ſecond watch, immediately apprehended that he deſigned to remove into the province of the *Gabeni*, a fruitful country capable of ſubſiſting a numerous army, and beſides very ſafe and commodious for the troops, by reaſon of the many rivers and hollow ways that croſſed it; wherefore he reſolved to be beforehand with him. To this end he hired ſome mercenary ſoldiers to deſert to *Antigonus*, and tell him that *Eumenes* had laid a deſign to attack him in his entrenchments as ſoon as it grew dark. At the ſame time he cauſed his baggage to move, and ordered his troops as ſoon as they had refreſhed themſelves to decamp. *Antigonus* being informed by theſe deſerters, that *Eumenes* intended to attack him, kept his men in a condition

to

reſt in no leſs conſternation, reſolved to fly, and collect what men he could by the way. But *Eumenes* delivered him from his great fear and anxiety, undertaking to ſtop the enemy's career, in ſuch a manner, that they ſhould arrive three days later than they were expected. Having thus encouraged them, he immediately diſpatched expreſſes to all the officers, to draw the men out of their winter-quarters, and muſter them with ſpeed. In the mean time, he himſelf with ſome of the chief officers rode out, and made choice of an eminence which was within view of ſuch as travelled the deſart; this he quartered out, and commanded many fires at proper intervals, to be made in it, that they who beheld them at a diſtance might take it for a real camp. When *Antigonus* ſaw the fires upon the hill he was extremely afflicted and diſpirited, ſuppoſing that his enemies had been long advertiſed of his march, and were prepared to receive him. Wherefore leſt his army, now tired out with their march, ſhould be forced immediately to encounter with men who had been well refreſhed in their winter quarters, and were ready for battle, he quitted the near way, and marched ſlowly through the towns and villages, to refreſh his troops. But meeting with no ſuch ſkirmiſhes as are uſual when two armies lie near one another, and being aſſured by the people

to receive him, whilſt *Eumenes* proceeded on his march. *Antigonus* was ſoon informed by his ſcouts that *Eumenes* was decamped, and though he perceived that he was over-reached by his enemy, yet he continued in his firſt reſolution, raiſed his camp, and made ſuch haſte, that his motion looked more like a purſuit than a march. But conſidering that it was impoſſible for him to come up with his whole army, and overtake *Eumenes*, who at leaſt had got the ſtart of him by two watches, he left his foot under the command of *Pithon*, and proceeded full ſpeed at the head of his cavalry, ſo that by day-break he came up with the enemy's rear, as they were marching down a hill, upon the top of which he halted. *Eumenes*, upon ſight of the cavalry, concluded that the whole army was preſent, and drew up his forces in order of battle. Thus *Antigonus* deceived *Eumenes* in his turn; for he hindered him from continuing his march till he was joined by his infantry. After this both armies engaged, and the action which was very ſharp, was likewiſe remarkable for the many turns and extraordinary events, which well deſerved to be deſcribed as they are by *Diodorus*.

people of the country, that no army had been ſeen, but only continual fires in that place, he concluded he had been outwitted by a ſtratagem of *Eumenes*, and being very much troubled, advanced towards him, reſolving immediately to give battle (9). By this time the greateſt part of the forces were come together; and admiring the great conduct and prudence of *Eumenes*, they declared him ſole commander of the whole army. *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, captains of the *Argyraſpides*, being very much offended at this, and envying *Eumenes*, formed a conſpiracy againſt him; and aſſembling the greater part of the governors of the provinces and the chief officers, they conſulted when and how they ſhould deſtroy him. When they had unanimouſly agreed to make uſe of his ſervice in the next battle, and immediately afterwards to kill him, *Eudamus* the commander of the elephants, and *Phædimus*, gave *Eumenes* private advice of this deſign, not out of kindneſs or good-will to him, but leſt they ſhould loſe the money they had lent him. *Eumenes* having commended them, retired to his tent, and told his friends that his condition was like that of a man expoſed to wild beaſts in a publick ſpectacle. He then made his will, and deſtroyed and tore all his letters, leſt his correſpondents after his death ſhould be queſtioned or puniſhed for the intelligence they had given him. Having thus diſpoſed his affairs, he thought of letting the enemy win the battle, or of flying through *Media* and *Armenia*, and ſeizing *Cappadocia*; but he came to no reſolution while his friends ſtayed with him. After revolving divers things in his mind, which his changeable fortune made unſteady and fickle, (1) he at laſt drew up his men, and encouraged the

(9) Whilſt *Eumenes* waited in his camp till all his forces were come up to join him, *Antigonus* was informed that his elephants were on the march, and that they were not far from the deſart; wherefore he detached a party of two thouſand horſe, and his light-armed foot to intercept them. But *Eumenes* foreſeeing this, and concluding that *Antigonus* would have ſome ſuch deſign, had likewiſe made a detachment on his part of fifteen hundred horſe and two thouſand foot for their ſecurity. This detachment came up juſt as *Antigonus*'s men had fallen upon the convoy, and almoſt defeated

the *Greeks* and barbarians; as for the *Argyraſpides*, they encouraged him, and bid him not doubt of the victory, telling him, that the enemy would never be able to ſtand them. For indeed they were the oldeſt of all the troops that had ſerved under *Philip* and *Alexander*, men who had long made a trade of war, and had never been beaten or foiled, though many of them were ſeventy, and none leſs than ſixty years old. Wherefore when they charged *Antigonus*'s men, they cried out, *Villains you fight againſt your fathers*; and furiouſly falling on, they routed the infantry, killing great numbers of them upon the ſpot, ſo that here *Antigonus* was totally defeated. But on the other ſide his cavalry had the advantage through the cowardice of *Peuceſtas*, who behaved moſt ſhamefully in that action; ſo that *Antigonus* made himſelf maſter of all the baggage; and this was as much owing to his preſence of mind, which never failed him in the greateſt danger, as the ſituation and nature of the place, which was of great advantage to him, for it was a plain open country, of a ſoil neither deep, nor hard under foot, but like the ſea-ſhore, covered with a fine dry ſand, which the treading of ſo many men and horſes, in the time of the battle, reduced to a ſmall white duſt, that like a cloud of lime darkened the air, ſo that no one could ſee clearly at any diſtance, which made it eaſy for *Antigonus* to take the baggage unperceived.

After the battle, *Teutamus* ſent a meſſage to *Antigonus* to demand the baggage. He anſwered, he would not only reſtore it to the *Argyraſpides*, but ſerve them further in other things, if they would ſurrender *Eumenes*. Whereupon the *Argyraſpides* made a villainous reſolution,

feated it, but this aſſiſtance coming ſeaſonably, repelled the enemy, and brought all the elephants off ſafe, to the number of a hundred and fourteen.

(1) The order of battle obſerved by *Eumenes*, and *Antigonus*, on this occaſion, ſuch as it is deſcribed by *Diodorus Siculus*, might poſſibly have deſerved a place here. The army of *Antigonus* conſiſted of twenty-two thouſand foot, nine thouſand horſe, with ſome *Medan* cavalry, and ſixty-five elephants. *Eumenes* had in his army thirty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred foot, ſix thouſand and fifty horſe, and a hundred and fourteen elephants.

(2) How

tion, to deliver him up alive into the hands of his enemies. Accordingly they came to wait upon him, being unſuſpected by him, and appearing as if they only came to guard him as uſual. Some lamented the loſs of the baggage, ſome encouraged him as if he had been victor, and ſome laid the blame of their loſs upon the other officers. At laſt they all fell upon him, and ſeizing his ſword, bound his hands behind him with his own girdle. When *Antigonus* had ſent *Nicanor* to receive him, he begged he might be led through the *Macedonians*, and have liberty to ſpeak to them, not to requeſt, or deprecate any thing, but only to adviſe them what would be for their intereſt. Silence being made, as he ſtood upon a riſing ground, he ſtretched out his hands bound (2), and ſaid, *What trophy, O ye baſeſt of all the* Macedonians, *could* Antigonus *have wiſhed for, ſo great as you yourſelves have erected to him, in delivering up your General captive into his hands? Was it not diſgrace enough when you were conquerors, to own yourſelves conquered, for the ſake only of your baggage, as if it were wealth, not arms, wherein victory conſiſted? But muſt your General too be delivered up to redeem it? As for me, I am unvanquiſhed, though a captive. I have conquered my enemies, and am betrayed by my fellow-ſoldiers. For you, I adjure you by* Jupiter *the protector of armies, and by all the Gods that are the avengers of perjury, to kill me here with your own hands; for whether I fall by you or by* Antigonus, *you only will be guilty of my death: nor will* Antigonus *complain; for he deſires not* Eumenes *alive, but dead. If ye will with-hold your own hands, releaſe but one of mine, it ſhall ſuffice to do the work; but if you dare not truſt me with a ſword, throw me bound as I am to wild beaſts. This if you do, I ſhall freely acquit you from the guilt of my death, and declare you the moſt juſt and faithful of ſoldiers to your General.* While *Eumenes* was thus ſpeaking, the reſt of the ſoldiers wept for grief; but the *Argyraſpides* with a loud voice cried out, *Lead him on,*

(2) How could that be, ſince *Plutarch* tells us juſt before that his hands were tied behind him? Perhaps ſomething is wanting in the text. *Juſtin* ſays, that his hands were looſened: *Facto ſilentio,*

on, without liſtening to his impertinences: for the ruin of a vile vagabond Cherſoneſan, *who has waſted the* Macedonians *in ſo many battles, is not to be regretted; but the caſe of thoſe brave ſoldiers, who ſerved under* Philip *and* Alexander, *would be deplorable, if after ſo many tireſome marches, and hazardous engagements, they ſhould be deprived of the fruits of ſo long ſervice, and be reduced in their old age to beg their bread. And have not our wives been now three nights in the power of our enemies?* They then puſhed him on with great violence. But *Antigonus* fearing the multitude, (for nobody was left in the camp) ſent ten of his ſtrongeſt elephants with a conſiderable number of his *Medan* and *Parthyæan* ſpearmen to keep off the croud.

When *Eumenes* was conducted into the camp, *Antigonus* could not bear to ſee him, by reaſon of their former intimacy and friendſhip; and when they who had him in cuſtody, enquired of *Antigonus* how he would have him kept? *As I would* (ſaid he) *an elephant or a lion.* A little after, being moved with compaſſion, he commanded the heavieſt of his irons to be knocked off, one of his own ſervants was admitted to anoint him, and any of his friends who deſired it, had liberty to viſit him, and bring him what he wanted. *Antigonus* deliberated for ſeveral days what to do with him; ſometimes he was inclined to liſten to the advice and promiſes of *Nearchus* of *Crete*, and *Demetrius* his ſon, who were very earneſt to preſerve *Eumenes*, whilſt all the reſt were importunate to have him put to death. It is reported, that *Eumenes* enquired of *Onomarchus* his keeper, *why* Antigonus, *now he had his enemy in his hands, would not either forthwith diſpatch or generouſly releaſe him?* And that *Onomarchus* contumelioufly anſwered, *The field had been a more proper place than this for you to have ſhown your contempt of death. And there I did ſhow it,* replied *Eumenes*; *I appeal to the men that engaged me; but I could not meet with a man that was too hard for me. Therefore*

tio, laxatiſque vinculis, prolatam ſicut catenatus erat, oſtendit manum. xiv. 4.

(3) He

fore (rejoined *Onormarchus*) *now you have found ſuch a man, why do not you ſubmit quietly to his pleaſure?* When *Antigonus* had at laſt reſolved to kill *Eumenes*, he commanded his keepers to allow him no more ſuſtenance; ſo that after he had faſted two or three days, he began to draw near his end: but the camp being on ſome ſudden alarm obliged to remove, an executioner was ſent to diſpatch him. *Antigonus* granted his body to his friends, and permitted them to burn it; and having gathered his aſhes into a ſilver urn, he allowed them to ſend it to his wife and children.

Eumenes being thus put to death, heaven committed the puniſhment of thoſe officers and ſoldiers who had betrayed him, to no one but *Antigonus* himſelf, who deteſting the *Argyraſpides* as wicked and inhuman villains, delivered them up to (3) *Ibyrtius*, Governor of *Arachoſia*, commanding him to uſe every method to deſtroy them, ſo that not one of them might ever come to *Macedon*, or even within ſight of the *Grecian* ſea.

(3) He did not deliver up *Antigenes* to be puniſhed by *Ibyrtius*, for he ordered him to be caſt into a dungeon, and burnt alive. He likewiſe put *Eudemus*, *Celbanus* and ſome others to death.

The Compariſon of SERTORIUS *with* EUMENES.

THESE are the moſt remarkable paſſages that are come to our knowledge, concerning *Eumenes* and *Sertorius*. In comparing their lives we may obſerve, that this was common to them both, that being aliens, ſtrangers, and baniſhed men, they continued even to the end of their lives to be commanders of numerous and warlike armies, made up of divers nations. But this was peculiar to *Sertorius*, that the chief command was by his whole party freely yielded to him, as to the perſon of the greateſt merit; whereas many contended with *Eumenes*, till by his great exploits he at length obtained the ſuperiority. Thoſe who obeyed *Sertorius* were deſirous to be commanded by him; but *Eumenes* commanded thoſe who ſubmitted to him only for their own ſecurity, and becauſe they found themſelves incapable of commanding. The one being a *Roman*, was the General of the *Spaniards* and *Luſitanians*, who for many years before had been under ſubjection to the *Roman* empire; and the other a *Cherſoneſian*, was chief commander of the *Macedonians*, who had ſubdued the world. *Sertorius* being already in high eſteem for his former ſervices in war, and his great abilities in the ſenate-houſe, was advanced to the dignity of a General; whereas *Eumenes* obtained this honour when he had been only a ſecretary, and had been deſpiſed for the meanneſs of his employment. Nor did he only riſe at firſt from a ſmaller beginning, but afterwards alſo met with greater impediments in his progreſs, and that, not only from thoſe who pub-

lickly oppoſed him, but from many others who privately conſpired againſt him: but it was much otherwiſe with *Sertorius*, for not one of his party did ever publickly oppoſe him; though till at laſt a few of his acquaintance entered into a private conſpiracy to take away his life. *Sertorius* put an end to his dangers, as often as he was victorious in the field; whereas the victories of *Eumenes* were the beginning of his calamities, through the malice of thoſe who envied his glory.

Their martial exploits were equal and ſimilar, but their manners and inclinations were different. *Eumenes* naturally loved war and contention, but *Sertorius* eſteemed peace and tranquillity. When *Eumenes* might have lived in ſafety, and with honour, if he would have quietly retired, he perſiſted in his contentions, and made war with the greateſt of the *Macedonian* princes: but *Sertorius*, who was unwilling to trouble himſelf with any publick diſturbances, was forced, for the ſafety of his perſon, to make war againſt thoſe who would not ſuffer him to live in peace. If *Eumenes* had not violently contended for the ſuperiority, or could have contented himſelf with the ſecond place, *Antigonus* would have ſhown him the greateſt kindneſs and reſpect; whereas *Pompey*'s friends would never permit *Sertorius* to live in quiet. The one when in power made war of his own accord; and the other was conſtrained to accept of the ſovereign power to defend himſelf from his enemies who made war againſt him. *Eumenes* was certainly a lover of war, for he preferred his covetouſneſs and ambition before his eaſe and ſecurity; but *Sertorius* was truly warlike who had recourſe to arms only for his own ſafety.

As to the manner of their deaths, the one died without the leaſt expectation of it; the other when he ſuſpected it daily; this in the firſt argued a good and generous temper which did not lead him to diſtruſt his friends; but in the other it ſhowed ſome infirmity of ſpirit, (4) for *Eumenes* intended to fly, and was taken. The

(4) That which *Plutarch* ſays here relates to a paſſage in page 56.

The death of *Sertorius* diſhonoured not his life; he ſuffered that from his companions which none of his enemies were ever able to perform. The other not being able to deliver himſelf before his impriſonment, and betraying a deſire to live even after his captivity (5), did neither prevent his fate, nor ſupport it honourably; for by meanly ſupplicating and petitioning, he made his enemy, who pretended only to have power over his body, the maſter of his mind alſo.

56, where *Eumenes* deliberates with himſelf whether he ſhall give up the victory to the enemy, or retire into *Cappadocia*.

(5) Where does this appear? no where in *Plutarch*. On the contrary *Eumenes* demanded that *Antigonus* would either put him to death ſpeedily, or releaſe him generouſly.

AGESI-



AGESILAUS.

ARCHIDAMUS, the ſon of *Zeuxidamus*, having reigned glorioufly over the *Lacedæmonians*, left behind him two ſons, *Agis* the elder, whom he had by (1) *Lampido*, a woman of a very illuſtrious family, and *Ageſilaus*, much the younger, whom he had by *Eupolia*, the daughter of *Meliſippidas*. As the crown belonged to *Agis* by law, *Ageſilaus*, who in all probability was to be but a private man, was educated according to the uſual diſcipline of the country, which was very laborious and ſevere, but ſuch as taught young men how to obey their ſuperiors. Hence *Simonides*, they ſay, called *Sparta* the *Tamer of men*, becauſe

(1) This *Lampido* was the daughter of *Leotychidas*, and conſequently the ſiſter of *Archidamus* to whom ſhe was married, but

ſiſter

cauſe by a ſtrictneſs of education, the citizens were inured to obedience to the laws, and rendered patient of ſubjection, as horſes are broke when they are colts. The law did not hold ſo ſtrict a rein on the heirs to the crown: but *Ageſilaus*, who was a younger brother, was taught by his education to obey before he was advanced to the government. Hence it was that he became the moſt popular of the *Spartan* Kings, having learned how to temper the grandeur of a royal condition with that humanity and complacency to which he had been formed by his education.

While he was yet a boy, bred up in one of the ſchools or ſocieties of youth, he was beloved by *Lyſander*, who much admired that ingenuous modeſty which he found in him: for though he was one of the higheſt ſpirit and greateſt bravery of any of his companions, was always ambitious of pre-eminence among them, towards which the impetuous vigour and fervour of his mind irreſiſtibly carried him; yet on the other ſide he was ſo mild and gentle in his nature, that though he would do nothing from fear, yet from modeſty he would do every thing that was enjoined him, being more affected with reproach than afraid of labour.

He was lame of one leg; but this deformity was rendered leſs apparent by the beauty of his perſon when he was young; and the chearfulneſs with which he ſupported his misfortune, and his readineſs to jeſt upon it himſelf made amends for the defect. And indeed it was a ſtrong argument of his love to glory, that notwithſtanding his lameneſs he declined no labour in the purſuit of it. Neither his ſtatue nor picture are extant, as he never allowed them in his life, and utterly forbad them to be made after his death. He is ſaid to have been little, and to have no great dignity of aſpect; but his gaiety and vivacity, his agreeable converſation, and freedom from all moroſeneſs and haughtineſs either in his looks or expreſſions, made him more amiable, even in his old age, than thoſe who were

ſiſter by the father's ſide only,

were young and had the greateſt advantages of perſon. However the *Lacedæmonians* had a ſort of averſion to people of a low ſtature; and *Theophraſtus* writes, that the *Ephori* laid a fine upon *Archidamus* for marrying a little wife: *for* (ſaid they) *ſhe will bring us a race of pygmies inſtead of kings.*

In the reign of *Agis* the elder brother, *Alcibiades* (being then an exile from *Athens*) came from *Sicily* to *Sparta*. Before he had been long there, he was ſuſpected af a familiarity with *Timæa* the Queen; ſo that *Agis* refuſed to own a child of hers, declaring publickly that *Alcibiades*, and not he, was the father. Nor (if we may believe *Duris* the hiſtorian) was *Timæa* much concerned at it, for ſhe uſed to whiſper among her ſervants, that the infant's true name was *Alcibiades*, not *Leotychides*. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that *Alcibiades* himſelf did not ſcruple to ſay, *That he had not ſollicited* Timæa *out of a wantonneſs of deſire, but from an ambition of having his poſterity Kings of* Sparta. This affair obliged *Alcibiades* to leave *Sparta* for fear of *Agis*. But the child had not the honours due to a legitimate Prince paid him, nor was he ever owned by *Agis*, till by his prayers and tears he prevailed with him to declare him his ſon before witneſſes upon his death-bed. But notwithſtanding this, after the death of *Agis*, *Lyſander* who had lately conquered the *Athenians* in a ſea-fight, and had great power in *Sparta*, promoted *Ageſilaus*

(z) This explication of *Lyſander*'s is very ingenious, and might appear probable; but in truth it is contrary to the letter of the Oracle, which in expreſs terms forbids *a lame reign*, χωλὴ βασιλέια, and *Agelaus* was lame. *Plutarch* gives us his opinion of this affair in the compariſon. But that which is ſurprizing is, that neither the *Lacedæmonians*, nor *Plutarch* perceived that this Oracle might be taken in a ſenſe quite different from that which was given it by either of the contending parties, and which was firſt diſcovered by M. *Le Fevre* in his notes upon *Juſtin*, lib. vi. The Oracle ſays, *Do thou, who haſt hitherto walked ſo well upon both thy feet, beware that thou doſt not fall under a lame reign.* The drift of the Oracle was not to exclude *Ageſilaus* from the throne, becauſe he was lame, nor *Leotychides* becauſe he was illegitimate, but to warn the *Lacedæmonians* againſt ſuffering themſelves to be governed by a ſingle perſon. They had hitherto been conſtantly ruled by two Kings deſcended from *Hercules*. Thoſe were the two feet

laus to the kingdom, urging *Leotychides*'s baſtardy as a bar to his pretenſions.

Many of the *Spartans*, charmed with *Ageſilaus*'s virtue, and reckoning it no ſmall advantage to have a King on the throne, who had been educated in the ſame manner as themſelves, and had undergone with them all the ſeverities of the *Lacedæmonian* diſcipline, were ſoon brought to declare for him.

There was at that time in *Sparta* a certain ſoothſayer named *Diopithes*, a man well verſed in ancient prophecies, and held in great eſteem among them for his knowledge of religion and ſkill in divination. He declared that it was not lawful for them to make a lame man King of *Lacedæmon*, citing to that purpoſe the following oracle:

Though proud, O Sparta! *ſubject ſtill to fate*
Beware when ſteps unequal move the ſtate;
Leſt war ruſh on thee doom'd by war to bleed,
And woes on woes an endleſs train ſucceed.

But *Lyſander* alledged, that if the *Spartans* were ſcrupulous in obeying the Oracle, they muſt beware of *Leotychides*; for it was not the limping foot of a King that the gods were offended at, (2) but the admiſſion of one who was not a deſcendant of *Hercules*, which would make the kingdom to halt indeed. (3) *Ageſilaus* likewiſe added, that the baſtardy of *Leotychides* was atteſted

feet that ſupported them. But if inſtead of two they ſhould ever come to have no more than one, that is no more than one King, they would be undone; for that power which is mild and gentle whilſt it is participated by two, will grow formidable when united in one perſon, and enable him to tyrannize over them. And for this reaſon the Oracle adviſes them to walk ſtill upon both their legs.

(3) All this is taken out of the third book of *Xenophon*'s *Grecian* hiſtory, where it is ſaid *Ageſilaus* oppoſed *Leotychides* with three invincible arguments. Firſt, Agis *has declared that you are not his ſon.* Secondly, *Your mother herſelf, who ought to know beſt, ſays even now that* Agis *was not your father*; and in the third place, Neptune *alſo is an evidence againſt you; for having one night forced* Agis *out of bed by the violent ſhock of an earthquake, the King abſtained from her for ten months together, and you was born after the expiration of that term.*

teſted by *Neptune*, who threw *Agis* out of bed from his wife by a violent earthquake; after which time he did not cohabit with her; yet *Leotychides* was born above ten months after it. *Ageſilaus* upon theſe allegations was declared King, and ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of the private eſtate of *Agis*, as well as his throne, *Leotychides* being wholly rejected as a baſtard. But ſeeing that the kindred of *Agis* by the mother's ſide were perſons of worth and virtue, but very poor, he gave them half his brother's eſtate, and by this popular action gained the good-will, not of them only, but of the *Spartans* in general, and ſtifled that envy that was growing againſt him upon the account of his ſucceſſion to the kingdom. *Xenophon* ſays of him, *That by ſubmitting to the laws of his country, he acquired ſuch great power that he could do what he pleaſed*; which is thus to be explained. The chief power was lodged in the hands of the *Ephori* and ſenate; the *Ephori* were annually choſen, but the ſenators held their places during life; both were inſtituted as bridles to reſtrain the too abſolute power of the Kings, as we have already mentioned in the life of *Lycurgus* (4). Hence it was that the Kings even from the firſt retained an hereditary averſion to them, and were always at variance with them. But *Ageſilaus* took another courſe; inſtead of contending with them, he courted them. He always acted by their advice, and was always ready to go when they ſent for him. If he were upon his throne hearing cauſes, and the *Ephori* came in, he aroſe to them. Whenever any man was elected into the ſenate, he always preſented him with a gown and an ox, as a mark of diſtinction. Thus, whilſt he ſeemed to ſhow reſpect and deference to their power he ſecretly advanced his own, and ſtrengthned the prerogative by acquiring their good-will and friendſhip. To the other citizens he behaved in ſuch a manner that he was leſs blameable in his enmities than in his friendſhips: for he never took any unjuſt advantage againſt his enemies;

(4) Vol. i. p. 109, 112.

(5) In

mies; but to his friends he was partial beyond the rules of juſtice. If an enemy had done any thing praiſe-worthy, he ſcorned to detract from his due praiſe; but he knew not how to reprove his friends when they did ill; nay, he would even join with them, and aſſiſt them in their injuſtice. For he thought all offices of friendſhip commendable, let the matter wherein they were employed be what it would. When any of his adverſaries were under a misfortune, he was the firſt to pity them, and readily gave them his aſſiſtance when they aſked it; by which means he became exceedingly popular, and captivated the hearts of all men. His popularity grew at laſt ſuſpected by the *Ephori*; and they fined him as a monopolizer of the citizens, who ought to be the common goods of the republick. For as it is the opinion of philoſophers, that if all ſtrife and oppoſition were removed out of the univerſe, all the heavenly bodies would ſtand ſtill, and generation and motion ceaſe, by reaſon of the mutual conſent and agreement of all things; ſo the *Spartan* legiſlator ſeems to have mingled ambition and emulation among the ingredients of his commonwealth, as the incentives of virtue, thinking that ſuch a mutual compliance and forbearance as excluded all contention and reproof, was an indolent uſeleſs thing, not deſerving the name of concord. Some think that *Homer* has this in view when he repreſents (5) *Agamemnon* as well pleaſed with the contention of *Ulyſſes* and *Achilles*, and with the reproaches that paſſed between them; which he would never have done, unleſs he had thought that the diſſentions of great men were of uſe to the ſtate. Yet this maxim is not to be granted without reſtriction; for if the heats grow too great, they are very dangerous and fatal to a commonwealth.

Ageſilaus was hardly entered upon the government, when news came from *Aſia*, that the *Perſian* King was making great naval preparations to deprive the *Spartans* of their empire of the ſea. *Lyſander* was glad of this

(5) In the eighth book of the *Odyſſey*.

(6) See

this opportunity of ſuccouring his friends in *Aſia*, whom he had there left governors of the cities, and who for their male-adminiſtration and tyrannical behaviour had been depoſed, and many of them put to death. He therefore perſuaded *Ageſilaus* to undertake the expedition, and by removing the war from *Greece* into *Perſia*, to prevent the deſigns of the barbarians. He alſo wrote to his friends in *Aſia*, adviſing them to ſend an embaſſy to demand *Ageſilaus* for their General. *Ageſilaus* thereupon coming into the publick aſſembly, offered his ſervice, upon condition that he might have thirty eminent *Spartans* for his lieutenants and counſellors, two thouſand of the newly enfranchized *Helots*, and ſix thouſand of the allies. *Lyſander*'s authority and aſſiſtance ſoon obtained this requeſt; ſo that he was ſent away with the thirty *Spartans*, of whom *Lyſander* was the chief, not only in power and reputation, but alſo in friendſhip with *Ageſilaus*, who eſteemed his procuring him this charge a greater obligation than that of preferring him to the kingdom.

Whilſt the army was aſſembling at *Geræſtus*, *Ageſilaus* went with ſome of his friends to *Aulis*, where he dreamed that he heard a man ſpeak to him after this manner: *O King of the* Lacedæmonians, *you cannot but know that till now no one ever was declared General of the* Greeks *but* Agamemnon; *and ſince you command the ſame men, make war againſt the ſame enemies, and begin your expedition from the ſame place, you ought alſo to offer ſuch a ſacrifice as he offered before he ſet ſail.*

Ageſilaus ſoon remembered that the ſacrifice which *Agamemnon* offered was his own daughter, he being ſo directed by the Oracle. However he was not at all diſturbed at it; but as ſoon as he aroſe, he told his dream to his friends, adding withall, that he would worſhip the Goddeſs with ſuch ſacrifices as would be acceptable to her as a Goddeſs, and not imitate the rude barbarity of that General. He therefore ordered an hind to be crowned with chaplets, and delivered to his own ſoothſayer to be offered by him, reſolving that the perſon, who, according to the cuſtom of the country,

country, had been named by the *Bœotians* to that office, ſhould not perform the ceremony. When the *Bœotian* governors heard this, they were very much offended, and ſent officers to *Ageſilaus*, to forbid his ſacrificing contrary to the laws of the country. They having delivered their meſſage to him, immediately went to the altar, and threw down the quarters of the hind that lay upon it. This gave great uneaſineſs to *Ageſilaus*, who immediately hoiſted ſail, being highly incenſed againſt the *Bœotians*, and much diſcouraged at this bad omen, which ſeemed to preſage an unſucceſsful voyage, and a bad iſſue of the whole expedition.

When he came to *Epheſus*, he found the power and intereſt of *Lyſander* was unſufferably great; all applications were made to him; great crouds of ſuitors always attended at his door, all men following and paying their court to him, as if the name of General had for form's ſake been given to *Ageſilaus*, while the whole power and authority really reſided in *Lyſander*. For none of all the commanders that had been ſent into *Aſia* were ever ſo powerful or ſo formidable as he; no one had rewarded his friends better, or had been more ſevere againſt his enemies: and as theſe things had been lately done, they made the greater impreſſion in mens minds; eſpecially when they compared the eaſy and popular behaviour of *Ageſilaus* with the ſtern and haughty carriage of *Lyſander*; and his ſhort and churliſh manner of ſpeaking, by which he ſo ſubdued their ſpirits, that they wholly ſubmitted to him, paying little regard to *Ageſilaus*. This firſt gave offence to the other captains, who could not without indignation ſee themſelves treated rather as the officers of *Lyſander* than the counſellors of the King. At length *Ageſilaus* himſelf, who though he was no envious man in his nature, but well pleaſed to ſee honour conferred on merit, yet was highly jealous of his own glory, and full of courage and ambition, began to apprehend that *Lyſander*'s greatneſs would ſoon eclipſe his, and carry away from him the reputation of whatever great action ſhould be performed. He therefore acted in this manner. He

firſt oppoſed him in all his counſels; whatever *Lyſander* adviſed with the greateſt earneſtneſs, was rejected, and other propoſals followed. Whoever made any petition to him was certainly denied if *Ageſilaus* found that he depended upon the intereſt of *Lyſander*. Nay even in judicial matters, they who were oppoſed by *Lyſander* were ſure to gain their cauſe; and whoever was viſibly favoured by him, rarely eſcaped without being fined. Theſe things being not done by chance, but conſtantly and on purpoſe, *Lyſander* was ſoon ſenſible of them, and plainly told his friends, that they ſuffered for his ſake, bidding them apply to the King, and ſuch as had more power with him than he had. By ſpeaking in this manner he deſigned to render *Ageſilaus* odious, who therefore to affront him ſtill more, appointed him to the office of carver, and in a publick company ſaid, *Now whoever pleaſes may go and pay his court to my carver.* *Lyſander*, no longer able to brook theſe indignities, complained at laſt to *Ageſilaus* himſelf, telling him, *that he knew better than any one how to diſgrace his friends.* To which *Ageſilaus* replied, *I know who they are that pretend to more power than myſelf.* *That*, replied *Lyſander*, *is rather ſaid by you, than done by me; but I deſire only this favour of you, that you will aſſign me ſome office and place in which I may ſerve you without incurring your diſpleaſure.*

Upon this *Ageſilaus* ſent him to the *Helleſpont* on an embaſſy, where he prevailed on *Spithridates* a *Perſian* in the province of *Pharnabazus*, to come to the aſſiſtance of the *Greeks* with two hundred horſe, and a great ſupply of money. However he always retained his reſentment for the indignities he had received, ſo that he formed a deſign of wreſting the kingdom out of the hands of the two families which then enjoyed it, and making it wholly elective, thereby leaving the throne open

(6) See this further explained in the life of *Lyſander*, Vol. III. p. 206.

(7) All his officers were exceedingly concerned at it, for they thought they had not a ſtrength ſufficient to withſtand the formidable forces of the King of *Perſia*; but *Ageſilaus* on the contrary was highly

open to any *Spartan* who had merit enough to pretend to it(6). And it is thought he would have occaſioned great commotions in the ſtate, if he had not died in the expedition into *Bœotia*. So dangerous are ambitious ſpirits in a ſtate when they tranſgreſs the juſt bounds, and ſo much the greater is the miſchief than the good which they produce. For though *Lyſander*'s pride was unſufferable, and his ambition very unſeaſonable, yet might *Ageſilaus* have found out ſome method of correcting him, leſs reproachful to a man of his merit and reputation, whoſe greateſt fault was his ambition. Indeed in my opinion they were both equally guilty, and both blinded by the ſame paſſion, ſo that the one would not pay the ſubmiſſion due to his Prince, nor the other bear with the imperfections of his friend.

Tiſaphernes being at firſt afraid of *Ageſilaus*, concluded a truce with him, making him believe that the King his maſter would relinquiſh to him the *Grecian* cities, and ſet them at liberty. But ſoon after finding a ſufficient force drawn together, he reſolved upon war; (7) at which *Ageſilaus* was overjoyed. For the expectation from this expedition was great; and he did not think it for his honour, that *Xenophon* with ten thouſand men ſhould march through the heart of *Aſia* to the ſea, beating the *Perſian* forces when and how he pleaſed, and that *Ageſilaus*, at the head of the army of the *Spartans*, (who then commanded both at ſea and land) ſhould raiſe no monument of his fame among the *Grecians* by any great action. He therefore revenged the perjury of *Tiſaphernes* by a lawful ſtratagem. He pretended to march into *Caria*, whither when he had drawn *Tiſaphernes* and his army, he ſuddenly turned back, and invaded *Phrygia*, where he took many cities, and carried away a great booty. Upon this occaſion he convinced his friends that to break a ſolemn league is

highly pleaſed with it; he received the ambaſſadors from *Tiſaphernes* with a gay countenance, and ordered them to tell their maſter *that he was much obliged to him, for that by this violation of his oath he had made the Gods enemies to* Perſia, *and friends to the* Grecians.

(8) *Plu-*

is to affront the Gods; but that to deceive and circumvent an enemy in war, is not only juſt but honourable, and very agreeable as well as advantageous.

Being weak in cavalry, and being alſo terrified by an ill omen in the ſacrifices, the liver being found to want that lobe which the ſoothſayers call the head, he retired to *Epheſus*; where he declared to thoſe that were wealthy, that if they were not inclined to follow him, and ſerve in perſon, he would excuſe them upon their finding each of them a man and horſe. A great many of them accepted of the propoſition; ſo that he ſoon found his army ſtrengthened not with a number of timorous rich men, but with a conſiderable body of reſolute cavalry. For thoſe who were averſe to fighting themſelves, hired ſuch as were more martial in their inclinations, and ſuch as loved not to ſerve on horſeback, ſubſtituted in their place ſuch as did. He profeſſed in this (8) to imitate the laudable example of *Agamemnon*, who took the preſent of an excellent mare, to excuſe a rich coward from ſerving in the army.

When by *Ageſilaus*'s order, the priſoners he had taken in *Phrygia* were expoſed to ſale, they were firſt ſtripped of their garments, and then ſold naked. The cloaths found many buyers; but the bodies being, by the eaſe they had always lived in, rendered white and tender, were derided and ſcorned as unſerviceable. *Ageſilaus* who ſtood by at the auction, told his *Grecians*, *Theſe are the men againſt whom ye fight, and thoſe are the things for which ye fight.*

The proper ſeaſon of the year being come, he gave out that he would invade *Lydia*; which plain dealing of his was miſtaken for a ſtratagem by *Tiſaphernes*, who by not believing *Ageſilaus*, becauſe he had been already deceived by him, over-reached himſelf. He expected that

(8) *Plutarch* has taken this from the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*, where *Homer* ſays *Echepolus* the ſon of *Anchiſes* the *Grecian* gave *Agamemnon* a fine mare, that he might be excuſed from going to the war, and be allowed to paſs his time in the full enjoyment of thoſe pleaſures that abounded in the city of *Sicyon*.

(9) *Titbrauſtes* ſent his ambaſſadors

that he would have made choice of *Caria*, that being a rough country, not fit for horſe, in which he deemed *Ageſilaus* to be weak. But when he found him to be as good as his word, and that he was entered into the plains of *Sardis*, he then was forced to march in all haſte to ſuccour that place. As he came up with his cavalry, he cut off ſeveral of the ſtragglers from *Ageſilaus*'s army, who were roaming up and down the country for pillage. *Ageſilaus* in the mean time conſidering that the enemies horſe had outrid the foot, but that he himſelf had the whole body of his army entire, made haſte to engage them. He mingled his light armed foot with the horſe, commanding them to begin the battle, whilſt he brought up the heavy-armed ſoldiers. The barbarians were put to flight, and the *Grecians* purſuing them cloſe, took their camp, and put many of them to the ſword. The conſequence of this victory was, that they not only had the liberty of foraging in the *Perſian* provinces, and of plundering them at pleaſure, but alſo ſaw *Tiſaphernes* pay dearly for all the cruelty he had ſhowed the *Greeks*, to whom he was a profeſſed enemy. For the King of *Perſia* ſoon ſent another to ſucceed him, named *Tithrauſtes*, who cut off his head, and propoſing an accommodation to *Ageſilaus*, (9) ſent him by his ambaſſadors large ſums of money to induce him to it, and to perſuade him to return into *Greece*. *Ageſilaus* anſwered, *That the making peace belonged to the* Lacedæmonians, *not to him*; *that as for wealth, he had rather ſee it in his ſoldiers hands than his own*; *that the* Grecians *thought it not honourable to enrich themſelves with the bribes of their enemies, but with their ſpoils only*. Yet, that he might gratify *Tithrauſtes* for the juſtice he had done upon *Tiſaphernes* the avowed enemy of the *Greeks*, he removed his army into *Phrygia*, accepting

ſadors to *Ageſilaus*, to let him know that the King his maſter having cauſed the author of the war to be puniſhed as he deſerved, reſtored the *Greek* cities in *Aſia* to their liberty, upon condition that they paid the eſtabliſhed tribute, and that he hoped this condeſcenſion in the King would perſuade him to accept the peace, and return home.

(9) This

accepting of thirty talents towards the charge of it. Whilſt he was upon his march, he received a letter from the council of *Sparta*, by which he was conſtituted Admiral as well as General. He was the firſt man on whom the *Spartans* had conferred that honour, and indeed no one had ſo well deſerved it. For he was confeſſedly (as *Theopompus* ſome where ſays) a perſon of the higheſt reputation of any of his contemporaries, and yet he choſe rather to derive his grandeur from his virtue than his authority. However he committed a great fault, in preferring *Piſander* to the command of the navy, when there were many officers at hand both older and wiſer; in this not ſo much conſulting the publick good, as the gratification of his kindred, and eſpecially his wife, whoſe brother *Piſander* was.

Having removed his camp into *Pharnabazus*'s province, he not only met with great plenty of proviſions, but alſo raiſed great ſums of money; and marching on to *Paphlagonia*, he ſoon drew *Cotys*, the King of it, into a league, to which he of his own accord inclined, out of the eſteem he had of *Ageſilaus*'s honour and virtue.

Spithridates, who had quitted *Pharnabazus*'s ſervice before and joined *Ageſilaus*, never left him, but accompanied him wherever he went. He had a ſon named *Megabates*, a youth of great beauty, of whom *Ageſilaus* was enamoured, and a very beautiful daughter, who was marriageable. Her *Ageſilaus* matched to *Cotys*; and taking of him a thouſand horſe, with two thouſand light-armed foot, he returned into *Phrygia*, and there pillaged the country of *Pharnabazus*, who durſt not ſtand him in the field, nor yet truſt to his garriſons; but carrying with him his jewels and the richeſt of his treaſures, he retreated from place to place, till *Spithridates* being joined with (1) *Herippidas* the *Spartan*, took his camp, and ſeized all his treaſure. *Herippidas* by enquiring too ſeverely into the plunder which the barbarians

(1) This *Herippidas* was one of the new council of thirty, whom the *Spartans* had ſent to *Ageſilaus* in the ſecond year of his command; for that council was removed annually, and *Herippidas* was

barians had taken, and by forcing them to deliver it up, ſo diſobliged *Spithridates*, that he changed ſides again, and went off with the *Paphlagonians* to *Sardis*. It is ſaid that *Ageſilaus* was more ſenſibly touched with this than with any thing that happened in the whole courſe of the expedition, not only becauſe he had loſt the friendſhip of a valiant commander, and with him a conſiderable number of men, but becauſe he lay under the reproach of ſordid covetouſneſs, of which he always was ſolicitous to clear both himſelf and his country. Beſide theſe publick cauſes of his concern, he had a private one, which was his love to *Megabates*. He had always, however, endeavoured with the utmoſt reſolution to ſuppreſs it, eſpecially in preſence of the boy; ſo that when *Megabates* once offered to ſalute and kiſs him, he declined it. The youth being much abaſhed at the repulſe grew more reſerved, and from that time ſaluted him at a greater diſtance; at which *Ageſilaus* was much concerned, and repenting his coyneſs, he pretended to wonder why he did not ſalute him with the like familiarity as formerly. His friends about him anſwered, *You, Sir, are in fault, you who durſt not the other day ſtand the kiſs of ſo beautiful a youth, but avoided it as if you had been frighted at him. He might ſoon be perſuaded to come nearer, and accoſt you as formerly; but take care you do not ſhun him again.* Upon this *Ageſilaus* pauſed a while, and at length anſwered, *You need not encourage him to a repetition of that kindneſs; I had rather be maſter of myſelf in the refuſal of that kiſs, than poſſeſs all the gold that my eyes ever beheld.* Thus he behaved to *Megabates* whilſt he remained with him; but ſo ſtrong was his paſſion for him when he was gone, that I queſtion whether if he had returned, all the virtue he had could have induced him to ſuch another refuſal.

Some time after this, *Pharnabazus* ſought an opportunity of conferring with *Ageſilaus*, which *Apollophanes* of *Cyzicus*, the common hoſt of them both, procured for

was placed at the head of this ſecond, as *Lyſander* had been named firſt in the former commiſſion.

(z) This

for him. *Ageſilaus* coming firſt to the appointed place with his friends, threw himſelf down upon the graſs under a tree, where he waited for *Pharnabazus*, who brought with him ſoft ſkins and rich carpets to lie down upon; but when he ſaw *Ageſilaus*'s poſture, he was aſhamed of them, and laid himſelf down upon the graſs alſo, though he was dreſſed in a robe of an extremely fine texture and very richly dyed. *Pharnabazus* had matter enough of complaint againſt *Ageſilaus*, and therefore after the mutual civilities were over, he put him in mind of the great ſervices he had done the *Lacedæmonians* in the *Attick* war, of which he thought it an ill recompence, to have his country thus haraſſed and ſpoiled by thoſe men who had been ſo obliged to him. The *Spartans* that were about *Ageſilaus* hung down their heads, as aſhamed of the wrong they had done to *Pharnabazus*. But the King anſwered, *We, O* Pharnabazus, *when we were in amity with the King of* Perſia, *behaved like friends; but now when we are at war with him, we behave as enemies. As for you, we look upon you as his ſervant; we therefore moleſt you only that we may hurt him. But whenever you will chuſe rather to be a friend to the* Grecians, *than a ſlave of the King of* Perſia, *you may then reckon this army and navy to be all at your command, to defend both you and your country, together with your liberties, without which there is nothing honourable or deſirable among men.* Upon this *Pharnabazus* diſcovered his mind, and anſwered, *If the King ſhould ſend another Governor in my room, I will certainly come over to you; but as long as he truſts me with the government, I ſhall be juſt to him, and not fail to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to oppoſe you. Ageſilaus* was pleaſed with this anſwer; and taking hold of his hand and riſing up, he ſaid, *How much do I wiſh that ſuch a man was my friend rather than my enemy* (2).

Thus ended the conference, and *Pharnabazus* retired; but his ſon ſtaying behind, ran up to *Ageſilaus*, and ſaid

(2) This was not all. *Ageſilaus* added, *In the mean time be aſſured that we will immediately march out of the provinces under your government; and for the future if we muſt remain in a ſtate of war, ſo long as there is any other to keep our arms in exerciſe, we will leave you unmoleſted.*

ſaid with a ſmile, *Ageſilaus, I from this day am bound with you in the ſacred ties of hoſpitality*; and then preſented him with a javelin which he had in his hand. *Ageſilaus* received it, and being much taken with the good mien and politeneſs of the youth, looked about to ſee if there were any thing in his train fit to offer him in return; and obſerving the horſe of *Adæus*, his ſecretary, to have very fine trappings, he took them off, and beſtowed them upon the youth. Nor did his kindneſs reſt there, but he was ever after mindful of him, ſo that when he was driven out of his country by his brethren, and lived an exile in *Peloponneſus*, he took great care of his maintenance, and even condeſcended to aſſiſt him in his amours. For he happened to fall in love with a youth of *Athens*, who had been bred up to his exerciſes, in order to contend for the prize in the Olympick games, but as he was well grown, (3) he had like to have been refuſed when he offered himſelf to be entered among the other competitors. The young Prince therefore applied to *Ageſilaus*, who undertook the buſineſs for him, and with much difficulty ſucceeded. He was in all other things a man of exact juſtice; but when the intereſt of a friend was concerned, he thought that to be rigorouſly juſt was only a colourable pretence for denying him. There is an epiſtle written to *Idrieus*, the *Carian*, which is aſcribed to *Ageſilaus*; it is this: *If* Nicias *be innocent, abſolve him; if he be guilty, abſolve him upon my account; however be ſure to abſolve him.* And indeed this was the true character of *Ageſilaus*, as to his deportment towards his friends. Yet ſometimes he conſidered the neceſſity of his own affairs more than his friends, of which he once gave an example. Being obliged to decamp in great haſte and diſorder, he was forced to leave his favourite youth behind him; and when he called aloud after him, and implored his help, *Ageſilaus* turning

leſted. Xen. Lib. 4.

(3) For ſometimes combats of boys were exhibited; and thoſe who were arrived at a certain age were excluded out of the liſts.

(4) *Xeno-*

turning back, ſaid, *What an hard thing is it to love and to be wiſe at the ſame time?* This ſtory is told by *Hieronymus* the philoſopher.

Another year of the war being ſpent, *Ageſilaus*'s fame ſtill increaſed, ſo that his temperance, his candour and moderation were highly celebrated even in the remoter provinces of *Perſia*. When he took any journey with his private retinue, he uſually lodged in a temple, making the Gods witneſſes of his moſt private actions, with which others would ſcarce permit men to be acquainted. In ſo great an army there was ſcarcely a common ſoldier who lay on a harder bed than *Ageſilaus*; and he was ſo inured to the varieties of heat and cold, that both ſeemed natural to him. The *Greeks* that inhabited *Aſia*, were much pleaſed to ſee the *Perſian* governors and generals, who from their wealth and luxury were before intolerably proud and inſolent, now ſtanding in awe of a man that went about in an old coarſe cloak, with wonderful ductility changing their manners and appearance on the leaſt intimation of his will, and ſuffering all their motions to be guided by his conciſe *Laconick* orders. It put them in mind of that verſe in *Timotheus*,

To Mars *the pow'r belongs,* Greece *fears not gold.*

As many parts of *Aſia* now revolted from the *Perſians*, *Ageſilaus* ſettled the affairs of the ſeveral cities, and regulated their government, without the death or baniſhment of one ſingle perſon. He then reſolved to quit the ſea-ſide, to march further up into the country, to attack the King of *Perſia* himſelf in the midſt of his pleaſures in his cities of *Suſa* and *Ecbatane*, and not to allow him leiſure to ſit as an idle ſpectator of the wars of others, hiring by his preſents the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece* to deſtroy each other, and bribing their orators to ſecond his pernicious deſigns. But in the mean time *Epicydidas* the *Spartan* arrived, with news that *Sparta* was involved in a *Grecian* war, and with an order from the *Ephori* for *Ageſilaus* to return home and aſſiſt his own country.

O Greeks *inventors of barbarian ills!*

For what better can we ſay of that envy and hatred, and thoſe inteſtine diviſions, which deſtroyed the fortune of *Greece*, and called her back from her full career of victory over the barbarians, only to ſheath her ſword in her own bowels? For I can by no means aſſent to *Demaratus* of *Corinth*, who ſaid, *That thoſe* Grecians *were deprived of a great ſatisfaction, who did not live to ſee* Alexander *ſit on the throne of* Darius. That ſight ſhould rather have drawn tears from them, when they conſidered, that they had left that glory to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*, whilſt they deſtroyed all their own great commanders in the fields of *Leuctra*, *Coronea*, *Corinth* and *Arcadia*.

No part of *Ageſilaus*'s conduct was greater than his behaviour on this occaſion; nor can a nobler inſtance be found in hiſtory, of a ready obedience, and juſt deference to his country. *Annibal*, though unſucceſsful and almoſt driven out of *Italy*, yet could hardly be prevailed on to return when his country was involved in a war at home. And *Alexander* made a jeſt of the battle between *Agis* and *Antipater*, ſaying to his friends, *Whilſt we are conquering* Darius *in* Aſia, *it ſeems there is a battle of mice in* Arcadia. How happy then was *Sparta* in the obedience and reſpect which *Ageſilaus* ſhowed to the laws of his country? For immediately upon receiving his orders, though in the midſt of his good fortune, and in full hope of great and glorious ſucceſs, he left his work unfiniſhed, and inſtantly departed, leaving his friends in *Aſia* very ſorrowful for the loſs of him, and having abundantly confuted the ſaying of *Demaratus* the *Pheacian*, *That the* Lacedæmonians *excelled in their publick tranſactions, but that the* Athenians *were better obſervers of private friendſhip*. For as he approved himſelf an excellent King and General, he ſhowed himſelf ſtill more to be a deſirable friend, and agreeable companion.

The coin of *Perſia* was ſtamped on one ſide with the figure of an Archer; which made *Ageſilaus* ſay, *That*

ten thouſand Perſian *archers had driven him out of* Aſia; that ſum having been laid out in bribing the (4) orators in *Thebes* and *Athens*, whereby thoſe two republicks were incited to make war with *Sparta*.

Having croſſed the *Helleſpont*, he marched without aſking leave of any of the barbarians; he only ſent meſſengers through *Thrace* to them, to demand *whether they would have him paſs through their country as a friend or as an enemy*. All the reſt received him as a friend, and uſed him with the greateſt civility: but the *Trallians* (of whom *Xerxes* is ſaid to have bought his paſſage) demanded of him a hundred talents of ſilver, and a hundred of his women. *Ageſilaus* in reply only aſked the meſſengers ironically, *Why their maſters were not come with them to receive it?* In the mean time he marched on, and finding them drawn up to oppoſe him, he attacked them, put them to flight, and ſlew great numbers of them. He ſent the like embaſſy to the King of *Macedonia*, who replied, *He would take time to deliberate: Why then let him deliberate*, ſaid *Ageſilaus*, *we will go forward in the mean time*. The *Macedonian* being ſurprized and daunted at the reſolution of the *Spartan* King, deſired him to paſs through his country as a friend. When he came into *Theſſaly*, he laid waſte the country, becauſe the *Theſſalians* were in league with the enemy. He ſent *Xenocles* and *Scytha* to *Lariſſa*, to perſuade the inhabitants to join with the *Spartans*; but the *Lariſſæans* ſeized and impriſoned them; and when the army was enraged, and adviſed him to beſiege the town, he anſwered, *That he valued either of thoſe men at more than the whole country of* Theſſaly. He therefore made terms with them, and received his men again upon compoſition. Nor need we wonder at that ſaying of *Ageſilaus*, for when ſome time before news was brought him that a great battle had been fought near *Corinth*, wherein many brave men fell, but that the loſs of the enemy was infinitely greater than that of the *Spartans*, he appeared not in the

(4) *Xenophon* tells us that *Tithrauſtes* ſent *Timocrates* of *Rhodes* with fifty talents into *Greece*, which he diſtributed at *Thebes*, *Argos*, and *Corinth*; but he adds, that *Athens* had no ſhare in that diſtri-

the leaſt pleaſed or elated with the victory, but with a deep ſigh cried out, *O* Greece, *how many gallant men haſt thou with thy own hands deſtroyed, who if they had been preſerved, might have conquered all the barbarians!* Yet when the *Pharſalians* harraſſed his army, and incommoded his paſſage, he drew out five hundred horſe, and in perſon fought and routed them, and ſet up a trophy at mount *Narthacium*. He valued himſelf much upon that victory, becauſe with ſo ſmall a number of his own training, he had vanquiſhed an army of men, who thought themſelves the beſt horſemen in *Greece*.

Here *Diphridas*, one of the *Ephori*, met him, and ordered him immediately to make an inroad into *Bœotia*. Though he thought it would have been better to have delayed this, and to have done it with a greater force, yet he obeyed the magiſtrates, and told his ſoldiers, that the day was come when they were to enter upon that employment, on the account of which they were brought out of *Aſia*. He then ſent for two cohorts of the army near *Corinth* to his aſſiſtance; and the *Lacedæmonians* at home, in honour to him, made proclamation for volunteers that would ſerve under the King, to come in and be liſted. Finding that all the inhabitants readily offered themſelves, the magiſtrates choſe fifty of the ableſt, and ſent them.

Ageſilaus having paſſed *Thermopylæ*, and marched through *Phocis*, which was in friendſhip with *Sparta*, entered *Bœotia*, and encamped near *Chæronea*. Juſt at that time there happened an eclipſe of the ſun (5), and news was likewiſe brought that *Piſander* had been defeated by *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, in a ſea-engagement near *Cnidos*, and that he himſelf was ſlain. He was much grieved at this both on account of his own loſs, and that of the publick. Yet leſt his army, being now near engaging, ſhould be diſcouraged at the news, he ordered the meſſengers to give out that *Piſander* had obtained the victory; and he himſelf appeared in publick

diſtribution.

(5) This eclipſe happened on the twenty-ninth of *Auguſt*, in the third year of the ninety-ſixth Olympiad, three hundred ninety-two years before the incarnation.

(6) This

lick with a garland on his head, and returned thanks for the ſucceſs in a ſolemn ſacrifice, of which he ſent portions to his friends.

When he came near to *Coronea*, and was within view of the enemy, he drew up his army, and giving the left wing to the *Orchomenians*, he himſelf led the right. The *Thebans* drew up their army likewiſe, forming the right wing themſelves, and aſſigning the left to the *Argives*. *Xenophon*, who was preſent at this battle, fighting near *Ageſilaus*, with whom he returned out of *Aſia*, tells us that it was the ſharpeſt engagement that had happened in his time.

The firſt charge was neither violent nor laſting; for the *Thebans* ſoon routed the *Orchomenians*, as *Ageſilaus* did the *Argives*. But both parties being informed of the condition their left wings were in, turned about inſtantly to relieve them. Here *Ageſilaus* might have been ſure of his victory without any riſk, if he would have ſuffered the *Thebans* to paſs, and ſo have charged them in the rear; but ſuch was his eagerneſs and fury, that he would not wait for the opportunity, but attacked them in front, thinking to bear them down before him. The *Thebans* were not behind him in courage, ſo that the battle was fiercely carried on on both ſides, eſpecially near *Ageſilaus*'s perſon, whoſe new guard of fifty volunteers ſtood him in great ſtead that day, and ſaved his life. They fought with great valour, and expoſed themſelves to the utmoſt danger in his defence; they could not however prevent him from receiving many wounds through his armour with lances and ſwords. At laſt making a ring about him, they with great difficulty brought him off alive, after having killed many of the enemy, and loſt many of their own number. At length finding it too hard a taſk to break the front of the *Theban* army, they were obliged to have recourſe to an artifice which in the beginning they ſcorned; for now they opened their ranks and ſuffered the *Thebans* to paſs through; and obſerving that they marched in a diſorderly manner, they turned upon them and attacked

tacked them in flank and rear. They could not however totally rout the *Thebans*, who marched on to *Helicon*, boasting that their part of the army was yet unconquered.

Ageſilaus, though much weakened by the many wounds he had received, would not retire to his tent, till he had been firſt carried about the field, and had ſeen the dead men of his army carried off in their armour. Being told that ſeveral of the enemy had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Minerva* the *Itonian*, which ſtood hard by, he ordered them to be diſmiſſed in ſafety. Before this temple ſtood a trophy erected by the *Bœotians*, for a victory formerly obtained by them over the *Athenians* under the conduct of *Sparton*, wherein *Tolmidas* the *Athenian* General was ſlain.

Next morning early *Ageſilaus*, being willing to try whether the *Thebans* would renew the engagement, commanded his ſoldiers to put garlands on their heads, and the muſicians to play on their flutes, whilſt he erected a trophy as conqueror. But when inſtead of fighting, the enemy aſked leave to bury their dead, he gave it them, and ſo confirmed to himſelf the victory. After this he went to *Delphi*, to the *Pythian* games which were then celebrating, at which feaſt he aſſiſted, and there ſolemnly offered to the Gods an hundred talents, which was the tenth part of the ſpoils he had brought from *Aſia*.

When he returned to *Sparta* he was greatly beloved and admired by the citizens for his temperance and frugality in his diet and manner of living. For, contrary to the cuſtom of other generals, he came home the ſame man that he went out, not having learned to admire the faſhions of other countries, and to ſlight and reject thoſe of his own. He paid as much reſpect to the *Spartan* cuſtoms as if he had never paſſed over the *Eurotas*; he made no alteration in the manner of his ſupping or bathing, in his wife's apparel, in his houſhold furniture, in his armour, nor even in the doors of his houſe, which were ſo old, that they might well be thought to be the ſame with thoſe that had ſo long ago

been ſet up by *Ariſtodemus* (6). And *Xenophon* aſſures us that his daughter's chariot (called the *Canathrum*) was no richer than that of others. This *Canathrum*, was a vehicle made of wood, in the ſhape of a griffin, or ſome other animal of a ſtrange uncommon figure, in which the young virgins were carried in the proceſſions. *Xenophon* has not left us the name of this daughter of *Ageſilaus*; and *Dicæarchus* is much diſpleaſed that we know not the names either of the daughter of *Ageſilaus*, or of *Epaminondas*'s mother. But in the ancient inſcriptions which may be ſeen at *Sparta*, it appears that *Ageſilaus*'s wife was called *Cleora*, and that he had two daughters whoſe names were *Apolia* and *Prolyta*. The *Spartans* likewiſe to this day ſhow his ſpear, which is in nothing different from that of other men.

Obſerving that many of his citizens valued themſelves upon breeding horſes for the chariot-races in the Olympick games, he perſuaded his ſiſter *Cyniſca* to place herſelf in a chariot and to contend for the prize, being deſirous to convince the *Grecians* that theſe victories were not obtained by ſtrength or courage, but by wealth and expence.

He had near his perſon the wife *Xenophon*, whom he highly eſteemed and reſpected. He perſuaded him to ſend for his children to *Sparta*, there to be brought up, and to be taught the moſt valuable of all ſciences, how to command, and how to obey.

Lyſander being dead, and his faction yet great and prevalent, which upon his return from *Aſia* he had raiſed againſt *Ageſilaus*, the King thought it adviſable to ſhow publickly what ſort of a citizen he had been whilſt he lived. And finding an oration among his writings, that was compoſed by *Cleon* the *Halicarnaſſean*, and intended to be ſpoken by *Lyſander* in a publick aſſembly, to excite the people to make innovations in the government, he reſolved to publiſh it. But one of the

(6) This *Ariſtodemus* the ſon of *Hercules* was the founder of the Royal family in *Sparta*, eleven hundred years before the incarnation; ſo that the gates of *Ageſilaus*'s palace had been ſtanding ſeven hundred and eight years, at his return after the victory gained

the ſenators having the peruſal of it, and finding it ſtrongly written, adviſed him *not to dig up* Lyſander *again, but rather to bury that oration in the grave with him.* This advice he hearkened to, and ſuppreſt the oration. As for his enemies, he uſed no open means to ſuppreſs them, but on the contrary made uſe of all his intereſt to obtain for them either the command of the armies, or ſome other conſiderable poſt in the government. This gave them an opportunity of manifeſting their avarice and diſhoneſty; and if at any time they were called to account for their ill practices, he ſollicited for them, and patronized them, by which he brought them over to his intereſt, and of avowed enemies made them his firm friends; ſo that in a ſhort time there was not one left to oppoſe his meaſures. For as to *Ageſipolis* the other King, he was the ſon of an exiled father, was very young, modeſt, inactive, and concerned himſelf but little with publick affairs. *Ageſilaus* contrived to make him yet more tractable. According to the cuſtom of *Sparta*, the kings if they were in town always dined together. *Ageſilaus* knowing that *Ageſipolis* was not leſs diſpoſed to love than himſelf, continually turned the diſcourſe upon ſome of the moſt amiable youths in the city, and at laſt brought him to fix his affection on a favourite of his own, and was both his companion and aſſiſtant in his love. For this love among the *Spartans* had nothing in it that was ſhameful or vicious, but was always accompanied with virtue and honour, and a noble emulation of rendering thoſe they loved ſtill more amiable and virtuous, as we have already obſerved in the life of *Lycurgus*.

Having thus encreaſed and eſtabliſhed his power, he eaſily obtained that his half brother *Teleutias* might be choſen Admiral; after which he marched with his land forces againſt *Corinth* (7), where he made himſelf maſter of the long walls, whilſt his brother beſieged it by ſea. The

gained at *Chæronea*.

(7) *Plutarch* in this place confounds two expeditions undertaken by *Ageſilaus* againſt *Corinth*, and makes but one of both. *Xenophon* has diſtinguiſhed them very clearly in his fourth book.

The *Argives* were then in poſſeſſion of *Corinth*, and were in the midſt of their *Iſthmian* games, when he came upon them, and made them retire from their ſacrifices, and leave all their feſtival preparations behind them. The exiled *Corinthians* who were in the *Spartan* army deſired him to proceed in the ſolemnity and to preſide at it himſelf. This he refuſed, but gave them leave to celebrate it, and he in the mean time ſtayed and guarded them. When *Ageſilaus* retired, the *Argives* returned to their ſports again. Some who were victors before, conquered a ſecond time, and others loſt the prizes which before they had gained. But *Ageſilaus* ſeverely reproached the *Argives* for cowardice, who having ſo great a veneration for the *Iſthmian* games, and ſo much valuing themſelves upon the victories there obtained, yet durſt not fight in defence of them. He himſelf was of opinion, that a moderate degree of regard for ſuch things was beſt. Accordingly when he was at *Sparta* he aſſiſted with great zeal and aſſiduity at the publick games and feſtivals. Nor would he ever be abſent from any of the exerciſes of the young men and the girls. But for thoſe other amuſements, in which he ſaw moſt men ſo deeply engaged, he affected even to be a ſtranger to them. *Callipides* the tragick actor, who was very eminent through all *Greece*, one day met *Ageſilaus* and ſaluted him; he then confidently thruſt himſelf into his train, expecting that the King would take ſome notice of him and pay him ſome complement. At laſt he aſked the King, *Whether he knew him not? What*, replied he, *art thou* Callipides *the ſtage-player?* Being invited once to hear a man, who admirably imitated the nightingale, he refuſed, ſaying, *That he had heard the nightingale herſelf.* There was one *Menecrates* a phyſician, who having been famed for ſurpriſing ſucceſs in the cure of ſome deſperate diſeaſes, was called *Jupiter:* he was ſo vain as to accept the title, and having occaſion to write a letter to *Ageſilaus*, directed it thus; Menecrates Jupiter *to* Ageſilaus, *greeting*. The King

(8) The *Achæans* were in poſſeſſion of the city of *Calydon*, which formerly belonged to *Ætolia*. The *Acarnanians* being aſſiſted

King returned anſwer, Ageſilaus *to* Menecrates, *health, and a right mind.*

Whilſt *Ageſilaus* was in the *Corinthian* territories, where he had taken the temple of *Juno*, he one day ſtood to obſerve his ſoldiers ſeizing the ſlaves as they came out of the temple, and carrying off the plunder, when ſome *Theban* ambaſſadors came to him to treat of peace. He having ever had a great averſion for their city, and thinking it then advantageous to his affairs publickly to ſlight them, pretended not to ſee them, nor to hear them ſpeak. But heaven immediately revenged this inſult; for before they parted from him, he received news that a body of his troops was defeated by *Iphicrates*. This was the greateſt loſs that the *Spartans* had ſuffered for a long time; for a great number of brave men were killed, and what added to the diſgrace was that heavy-armed *Lacedæmonians* were defeated by light-armed mercenaries. *Ageſilaus* made all the haſte he could to their reſcue, but came too late. He therefore returned to *Juno*'s temple, and ſent for the *Theban* ambaſſadors to give them audience. They now reſolved to return the affront he had offered them, and without making any mention of the peace, only deſired leave to go into *Corinth*. *Ageſilaus* being enraged at this, anſwered, *That if they were deſirous to go and ſee how proud their friends were of their ſucceſs, they ſhould do it to-morrow with ſafety.* Next morning taking the ambaſſadors with him, he ravaged the *Corinthian* territories, up to the very gates of the city; where having let the ambaſſadors ſee that the *Corinthians* durſt not come out to defend themſelves, he diſmiſſed them; then taking with him all thoſe who had eſcaped after the defeat, he marched homewards, always removing his camp before day, and pitching his tents after night came on, that he might prevent the *Arcadians*, who hated the *Spartans*, from taking any opportunity of inſulting over their loſs.

After this, (8) at the requeſt of the *Achæans*, he marched with them into *Acarnania*, from whence he brought

ed by the *Athenians* and *Bœotians* attempted to make themſelves maſters of it, and drive out the garriſon placed in it by the *Achæans*,

brought a great quantity of plunder, and overcame the *Acarnanians* in battle. The *Achæans* would have perſuaded him to keep his winter-quarters there, to hinder the *Acarnanians* from ſowing their corn; but he was of the contrary opinion, alledging, that they would be more afraid of a war the next ſummer, if their fields were ſown, than they would be if they lay fallow. The event juſtified his opinion; for the next year, when the *Achæans* began their expedition again, the *Acarnanians* immediately made peace with them.

When *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* with the *Perſian* navy were become maſters of the ſea, and had not only infeſted the coaſt of *Laconia*, but alſo rebuilt the walls of *Athens* at the coſt of *Pharnabazus*, the *Lacedæmonians* thought fit to treat of peace with the King of *Perſia*. To that end they ſent *Antalcidas* to *Teribazus*, (9) baſely betraying the *Aſiatick Greeks*, on whoſe behalf *Ageſilaus* had made war. But no part of this diſhonour fell upon *Ageſilaus*, the whole being tranſacted by *Antalcidas*, who was a bitter enemy of *Ageſilaus*, and was therefore deſirous to conclude a peace, becauſe he knew that war encreaſed *Ageſilaus*'s reputation and authority. But notwithſtanding this when a certain perſon ſaid, *That the* Lacedæmonians *were turning* Medes, *Ageſilaus* replied, *No, the* Medes *are turning* Lacedæmonians. And when the *Grecians* were backward to the agreement, he threatened them with war, unleſs they conſented to the King of *Perſia*'s terms. *Ageſilaus* had a particular end in this, which was to weaken the *Thebans*; for it was one of the articles of peace, that the country of *Bœotia* ſhould be ſet at liberty, which was then under the dominion of *Thebes* (1).

This hatred of his to *Thebes* appeared further afterwards, when *Phœbidas* in time of peace very diſhonourably ſeized upon the caſtle of *Cadmea*. This very much incenſed

ans, who finding themſelves in danger, ſent and demanded ſuccours from the *Lacedæmonians*, who diſpatched *Ageſilaus* with ſome troops to their aſſiſtance. *Xenophon* in his fourth book has given us a full account of this expedition.

(9) *Antalcidas* told *Teribazus* in his firſt audience, that the *Lacedæmonians*

incenſed all the *Grecians*, and was diſapproved even by the *Lacedæmonians* themſelves; thoſe eſpecially who were enemies to *Ageſilaus*, highly reſented it, and aſked *Phœbidas* by whoſe authority it was done, turning the ſuſpicion of it againſt *Ageſilaus*, who reſolutely anſwered on the behalf of *Phœbidas*, That *the profitableneſs of an action was chiefly to be conſidered; that what was for the advantage of the commonwealth ought to be done whether there were any orders given for it or not.* This was the more remarkable in him, becauſe in his converſation he always recommended juſtice as the chief of the virtues, ſaying, *That valour without juſtice was uſeleſs; and if all men were juſt, there would be no need of valour.* When any ſaid to him, *The great King will have it ſo*; he would reply, *How is he greater than I, unleſs he be juſter?* Thus he repreſented juſtice as that royal meaſure by which true greatneſs is to be eſtimated. The peace being concluded, the King of *Perſia* wrote to *Ageſilaus*, deſiring a private friendſhip with him; but he refuſed it, ſaying, *That the publick friendſhip was enough; whilſt that laſted, there was no need of private.* But he did not always act agreeably to theſe ſentiments, being frequently hurried away by ambition or reſentment. Particularly, in this caſe of the *Thebans*, he not only ſaved *Phœbidas*, but perſuaded the *Lacedæmonians* to take the fault upon themſelves, to keep poſſeſſion of *Cadmea*, and to make *Archias* and *Leontidas*, by whom the caſtle had been betrayed, chief governors in *Thebes*. This gave ſtrong ſuſpicion, that what *Phœbidas* did was by *Ageſilaus*'s order, which was afterwards made evident by the conſequences. For when the *Athenians* had expelled the garriſon, and had ſet the *Thebans* at liberty, he accuſed them of the murder of *Archias* and *Leontidas*, (whom he called *Polemarchs*, though in reality they were tyrants) and declared war againſt them on that account. *Cleom-*

monians were not ſollicitous to maintain the liberty of the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, in oppoſition to the King of *Perſia*, but would be contented if the other cities and the iſlands remained independant. *Xenoph. lib.* iv.

(1) *Xenophon* has inſerted in his fifth book the articles of this peace negotiated by *Antalcidas*.

(2) The

Cleombrotus the other King, ſucceſſor of *Ageſipolis* lately deceaſed, was ſent at the head of an army into *Bœotia*; *Ageſilaus* excuſing himſelf on account of his age, for it was forty years ſince he had firſt born arms, and the laws conſequently exempted him from any further ſervice. But there was another reaſon, which made him decline the command. He thought it would be a ſhame for him, who had not long before made war upon the *Phliaſians* in favour of exiles, to march now againſt the *Thebans* in behalf of tyrants.

One *Sphodrias* of *Lacedæmon*, who was of the faction oppoſite to *Ageſilaus*, was at that time governor of *Theſpiæ*, a man not void of courage or ambition, but full of vain hopes, and of little judgment. This action of *Phœbidas* fired him to attempt ſome great enterprize, which might render him as famous as he perceived the taking of *Cadmea* had made *Phœbidas*. He thought the taking of the *Piræus*, and cutting off the *Athenians* from the ſea, a matter of far more glory. It is ſaid, (2) that *Pelopidas* and *Melon* the governors of *Bœotia* put him upon it. They privately ſent ſome men to him, who pretended to be in the *Spartan* intereſt. Theſe men highly commended *Sphodrias*, and extolled him as the only man in the world fit for ſo great an enterprize. Being thus encouraged and elated by their praiſes, he engaged in an undertaking as diſhonourable and treacherous as that at *Cadmea*, but conducted with leſs valour and attended with leſs ſucceſs. For the day broke whilſt he was yet in the plains of *Thriaſium*; whereas he deſigned that the whole exploit ſhould have been done in the night. As ſoon as the ſoldiers perceived the rays of light reflected from the temples of *Eleuſis* upon the firſt riſing of the ſun, it is ſaid, that their hearts failed them; nay, he himſelf, when he ſaw that he could not have the benefit of the night, had not courage enough to go on with his enterprize; but, having ſpent a little time

(2) The *Thebans* fearing the *Lacedæmonians* would be too ſtrong for them, if they had not ſome other aſſiſtance, perſuaded *Sphodrias* to commit this act of hoſtility againſt the *Athenians* on purpoſe to draw them into the quarrel. This is what we find in the fifth

time in pillaging the country, he returned with ſhame to *Theſpiæ*. An embaſſy was upon this ſent from *Athens* to *Sparta*, to complain of this breach of the peace; but the ambaſſadors found their journey needleſs, *Sphodrias* being then under a capital proſecution from the magiſtrates of *Sparta*. *Sphodrias* durſt not abide the iſſue of the trial, through fear of the reſentment of the citizens, who were aſhamed of the tranſaction, and were deſirous to appear to have been wronged themſelves, that the *Athenians* might not ſuſpect them of having been acceſſory to the injury which had been offered to them.

This *Sphodrias* had a ſon, named *Cleonymus*, who was young and handſome, and who was beloved by *Archidamus* the ſon of *Ageſilaus*. It may eaſily be imagined that *Archidamus* ſympathized with his friend in the great trouble and anxiety he felt on his father's account; but yet he durſt not publickly give *Sphodrias* any aſſiſtance, as he was one of the profeſſed enemies of *Ageſilaus*. At laſt *Cleonymus* went to him, and importuned him with tears to prevail with the King to deal favourably with his father; for he of all the proſecutors was the moſt formidable. *Archidamus* had not the courage to ſpeak to his father for three or four days together, but followed him up and down in a profound ſilence. At laſt when the time approached for pronouncing the ſentence, he adventured to tell him, that *Cleonymus* had entreated him to intercede for *Sphodrias*. *Ageſilaus*, though he knew of the love between the two young men, yet did not prohibit it, becauſe he looked upon *Cleonymus* as a youth of extraordinary merit, and of great hopes. He did not however by his anſwer give his ſon any ground to expect that he would be favourable to *Sphodrias*; he only told him, *That he would conſider what he could honourably do in the affair*, and ſo diſmiſſed him. *Archidamus* being aſhamed of his want of ſucceſs, avoided the company of *Cleonymus* for ſome time, though he uſed to ſee him ſeveral times in

fifth book of *Xenophon*. But that author makes no mention either of *Pelopidas*, or *Melon*. *Plutarch* has given us a full account of this whole affair in the life of *Pelopidas*.

(3) See

in a day. This made the friends of *Sphodrias* think his caſe deſperate, till *Etymocles* one of *Ageſilaus*'s friends diſcovered to them the King's mind, and told them, *That he abhorred the fact, but yet he thought* Sphodrias *a brave man, ſuch as the commonwealth much wanted at that time.* *Ageſilaus* uſed every where to talk thus concerning the cauſe, being willing to gratify his ſon; upon which, *Cleonymus* quickly underſtood that *Archidamus* had been juſt to him, in uſing all his intereſt with his father; and *Sphodrias*'s friends took courage and exerted themſelves in his defence. *Ageſilaus* was indeed very fond of his children; and it is reported, that when they were little, he would make a hobby-horſe of a reed, and ride with them. Being one day ſurprized at this ſport by a friend, he deſired him *to ſay nothing of it, till he himſelf ſhould have children.*

When the *Athenians* heard that *Sphodrias* was acquitted, they immediately took arms; and *Ageſilaus* fell into great diſgrace with the people, for having, in order to gratify the fooliſh inclinations of a boy, perverted juſtice, and made the city acceſſory to that ſcandalous outrage which had been committed againſt the *Greeks*. Finding *Cleombrotus* little inclined to the *Theban* war, it became neceſſary for him to quit the privilege of his age, which he had before claimed, and to lead the army himſelf; which he did with variety of ſucceſs, ſometimes conquering, and ſometimes being conquered; ſo that one day when he had received a wound in battle, he was reproached by *Antalcidas*, who told him that *the* Thebans *had made him a good requital, for teaching them to fight, which they neither liked nor underſtood before.* And indeed they were now grown far better ſoldiers than ever they had been, as they were now inured to war by the frequent expeditions of the *Lacedæmonians* againſt them. For this reaſon their ancient legiſlator *Lycurgus* in one of the three decrees called *Rhetræ* forbad them to make war often againſt the ſame enemies, leſt they ſhould inſtruct them in the military art (3).

The allies of *Sparta* were not a little diſcontented at *Ageſilaus*,

(3) See Vol. I. p. 122. (4) For

Ageſilaus, becauſe this war was commenced not upon any publick offence committed by the *Thebans*, but merely out of his private hatred to them; and they complained of it as highly unreaſonable, that they being the majority of the army, ſhould from year to year be thus expoſed to danger and hardſhip, marching from place to place at the will of a few. *Ageſilaus*, it is ſaid, deviſed this expedient, to ſhow that the allies were not the greater number. He gave orders that all the allies, of whatever country, ſhould ſit down promiſcuouſly on one ſide, and all the *Lacedæmonians* on the other: which being done, he commanded an herald to proclaim that all the potters ſhould ſtand up; then all the blackſmiths; then all the maſons; next the carpenters; and ſo he went through all the different trades. Thus almoſt all the allies roſe up, and not one of the *Lacedæmonians*, they being by law forbidden to learn any mechanical trade. Then *Ageſilaus* ſaid, laughing, *You ſee, my friends, that our number of ſoldiers is much greater than yours.*

When he brought back his army from *Bœotia* through *Megara*, as he was going up to the town-hall in the caſtle, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a convulſion and acute pain in his ſound leg; after which a tumour aroſe, the veſſels ſeemed diſtended with blood, and there appeared all the ſigns of a violent inflammation. He was attended by a *Syracuſan* phyſician, who let him blood below the ancle: this ſoon eaſed his pain; but it was with great difficulty that the bleeding was ſtopped, and not till it had brought upon him a fainting fit and reduced him ſo low that his life was in great danger. He was carried home to *Sparta* in a very weak condition, and did not recover ſtrength enough to appear in the field a long time after.

In the mean time, the *Spartans* received many loſſes both by ſea and land; but the greateſt was that at *Leuctra*, which was the firſt time that they were overthrown by the *Thebans* in a pitched battle. The occaſion of it was this.

The *Grecians* being all diſpoſed to a general peace, ſent ambaſſadors to *Sparta* to negotiate it. Among theſe

theſe was *Epaminondas* the *Theban*, famous at that time for his wiſdom and learning; but he had not yet given proof of his martial virtues. He ſeeing all the others ſtanding in awe of *Ageſilaus*, and making court to him, alone maintained his dignity, and ſpoke with freedom in behalf not of *Thebes* only, but of all *Greece*, remonſtrating, that war was advantageous only to the *Spartans*, and that it was deſtructive to the reſt of the *Grecians*. He adviſed therefore that peace might be made upon equal terms, ſince it could not be rendered laſting but by reducing all to a parity. *Ageſilaus* perceiving all the other *Greeks* to hearken attentively to this diſcourſe, and to be pleaſed with it, aſked him *whether he did not think it juſt and reaſonable that the* Bœotians *ſhould be permitted to live in a ſtate of freedom and independence?* *Epaminondas* with great boldneſs and vivacity returned the queſtion, and aſked *Ageſilaus if he did not think it juſt and reaſonable, that* Laconia *ſhould be reſtored to the ſame ſtate of freedom and independence?* *Ageſilaus* being enraged at this reply, ſtarted up, and preſſed him to declare peremptorily, *if he would agree to an immunity for* Bœotia? And *Epaminondas* returned the ſame queſtion again, and aſked, *if an immunity would be granted on his part to* Laconia (4)? *Ageſilaus* was ſo provoked at this that he gladly laid hold of this pretext to exclude the *Thebans* from the league, and to declare war againſt them. With the reſt of the *Greeks* he made a treaty, and diſmiſſed them, ſaying, *That what could be peaceably adjuſted, ſhould; what was otherwiſe incurable muſt be determined by war, it being a thing of too great difficulty to provide for all things by treaty.*

The *Ephori* immediately ſent orders to *Cleombrotus*, who

(4) For the *Thebans* were for having all the other cities in *Greece* reſtored to their liberty, but would at the ſame time keep *Bœotia* in a ſtate of ſubjection to them; on the other hand the *Lacedæmonians* were for reſtoring the liberty of *Bœotia*, but would ſtill remain maſters of *Laconia*.

(5) It was ſaid that the doors belonging to the temples in *Bœotia* opened of themſelves; that the prieſteſſes had declared that ſome ſignal victory was approaching in favour of the *Bœotians*; and that all the armour hung up in the temple of *Hercules* diſappeared, as if *Hercules* himſelf was gone to be preſent at the battle. *Xenophon* adds that moſt people were perſuaded that this was an invention of the leaders. (6) The

who was at that time in *Phocis*, to march directly into *Bœotia*, and at the ſame time ſent to their allies for help. The confederates were very averſe to the war, and marched with great reluctance; but as yet they feared the *Spartans*, and durſt not refuſe. And though many unfavourable omens and prodigies appeared (5), as I have mentioned in the life of *Epaminondas*, and though (6) *Prothous* the *Lacedæmonian* oppoſed this expedition, yet *Ageſilaus* could not be prevailed upon to deſiſt, ſo that the war was decreed. He thought the preſent juncture of affairs very advantageous for his revenge, the reſt of *Greece* being wholly free, and in league with *Sparta*, and the *Thebans* only exempted. But that this war was undertaken more from paſſion than judgment, appears from the ſhortneſs of the time. For the treaty was finiſhed on the fourteenth of *Sciropharion* [*June*], and the *Lacedæmonians* received their great overthrow at *Leuctra* the fifth of *Hecatombæon* [*July*], within twenty days after. There fell at that time a thouſand *Spartans*, and *Cleombrotus* their King, together with many others of the braveſt men of the city; particularly *Cleonymus*, the ſon of *Sphodrias*, that beautiful youth, was thrice ſtruck down at the feet of the King, and as often roſe, but was ſlain at laſt.

This unexpected blow, which fell ſo heavy upon the *Lacedæmonians*, brought greater glory to *Thebes*, than ever was acquired by any other of the *Grecian* ſtates in their wars againſt each other. The behaviour of the *Spartans* though conquered was, however, as much applauded and admired as that of the victorious *Thebans*. And indeed, if as *Xenophon* ſays, good men even in their gayeſt converſations, and in their wine, let fall many

(6) The counſel *Prothous* gave was very juſt and reaſonable; he adviſed that the army ſhould be diſbanded according to their engagement; that all the cities ſhould be ordered to carry their contributions, every one according to its abilities, into the temple of *Apollo*; and that the war ſhould be directed only againſt thoſe who oppoſed the liberty of the cities; by which means they would find the Gods favour their enterprizes, and the cities would join them with alacrity. But this advice was laughed at; *for*, adds *Xenophon*, *it looked as if the Gods were already urging on the* Lacedæmonians *to their deſtruction.*

many remarkable ſayings that are worth preſerving; how much more worthy to be recorded, is an exemplary conſtancy of mind, appearing both in the countenance and behaviour of brave men, when they are preſſed by adverſe fortune? It happened that the *Spartans* were celebrating a feſtival, and the town was full of ſtrangers who came from other countries to ſee the exercifes of the youths and virgins who wreſtled naked in the theatre, when this news of the overthrow was brought. The *Ephori*, though they were ſufficiently aware that this blow had quite ruined the *Spartan* grandeur and its authority over the reſt of *Greece*, yet gave orders that the ſports ſhould not break off, nor any of the ceremonies of the feſtival be omitted; but privately ſending the names of the ſlain to each family out of which they were loſt, they continued the publick ſolemnity. The next morning, when they had full intelligence concerning it, and every body knew who were ſlain, and who ſurvived, the fathers and relations of the ſlain came out rejoicing into the market-place, and ſaluted each other with a kind of exultation. On the contrary, the relations of the ſurvivors hid themſelves at home among the women; if neceſſity drove any of them abroad, they went very dejectedly, with downcaſt looks and ſorrowful countenances. The women even outdid the men; ſuch whoſe ſons were ſlain, went immediately to the temples to return thanks to the Gods, and viſited each other with great chearfulneſs and mutual congratulations; but they who expected their children home, were ſilent and dejected.

The common people finding themſelves deſerted by their allies, and being terrified with the news of *Epaminondas*'s deſign of invading *Peloponneſus*, called to mind that Oracle which related to *Ageſilaus*'s lameneſs, and were deeply diſcouraged, and afraid of the anger of the Gods, thinking that the misfortunes of the city were occaſioned by their having placed a

lame King upon the throne, and excluded one whose limbs were sound and perfect; for this, they imagined, the Gods had directed them above all things to avoid. Yet such was their regard to the virtue, authority, and reputation of *Agesilaus*, that they threw themselves upon him in this distress, as the only man who was fit to heal the publick malady, and not only employed him as their General in war, but referred every difficulty in the civil government to his decision. One great difficulty was then before them, concerning those who had fled out of the battle; for they being many and powerful, it was feared that they might make some commotion in the republick, to avoid the penalties inflicted on them by the laws for their cowardice. The law in that case was very severe; for they were not only to be degraded from all honours, but also it was a disgrace to intermarry with them; whoever met any of them in the streets, might beat them if he listed, nor was it lawful for them to resist; they were obliged to appear publickly in a mean tattered habit, patched of divers colours, and to wear their beards half shaved, and half unshaved. To execute so rigid a law as this, when the offenders were so many, and had such great interest and authority, and that at a time when the commonwealth wanted soldiers so much as then it did, was of dangerous consequence. Therefore they chose *Agesilaus* legislator, with full power of abrogating old laws, or making new ones as he pleased. But he without making any addition, diminution, or change, came into the publick assembly, and said, *The law for this day shall lye dormant, but shall be executed in its full vigour for the future.* By this means he at once preserved the law from abrogation, and the citizens from infamy. And that he might remove the despondency and consternation which had seized the young men, he made an inroad into *Arcadia*, where he carefully avoided coming to an engagement, and contented himself with ravag-

ing the territory, and taking a ſmall town belonging to the *Mantineans*; thereby reviving the hearts of the people, and letting them ſee that they were not every where unſucceſsful.

Soon after this, *Epaminondas* and the *Theban* allies invaded *Laconia* with an army of forty thouſand ſoldiers, beſide light-armed men and others that followed the camp only for plunder, ſo that in all they were ſeventy thouſand. It was now ſix hundred years ſince the *Dorians* had poſſeſſed *Laconia*; and in all that time an enemy had not been ſeen within their territories, no man daring to invade them. But now they made their incurſions without reſiſtance as far as the *Eurotas*, and the very ſuburbs of *Sparta*; for *Ageſilaus*, as *Theopompus* writes, would not permit the *Spartans* to oppoſe ſo impetuous a torrent. He contented himſelf with fortifying the chief parts of the city, and placing guards in the moſt important poſts, enduring in the mean time the threats and defiances of the *Thebans*, who called upon him by name to come and defend his country, which ſuffered theſe miſeries upon his account, as he was the ſole author of the war. Beſide this he was greatly diſturbed at home by tumults in the city, by the outcries and cabals of the old men, who were highly enraged at their preſent condition, and by the wild behaviour of the women, who were terrified even to madneſs by the clamours and the fires of the enemy in the field. And what further diſtreſſed him was the ſenſe of his loſt glory; for he who came to the crown of *Sparta* when it was in its moſt flouriſhing condition and higheſt grandeur, now lived to ſee its pride humbled, and all its magnificent boaſts confuted, even that which he himſelf had been accuſtomed to utter, *That the women of* Sparta *had never ſeen the ſmoke of the enemy's fire.* It is ſaid, that when *Antalcidas* was once diſputing with an *Athenian* about the valour of the two nations, the *Athenian* ſaid, *That they had often driven the* Spartans *from the river* Cephiſus: *Yes*, ſaid *Antalcidas*,

Antalcidas, but we never drove you from the Eurotas. One of the common people of *Sparta* being in company with an *Argive*, who was boaſting how many *Spartans* lay buried in the fields of *Argos*, replied, *But you have none buried in the country of* Laconia. Some ſay that *Antalcidas*, who was one of the *Ephori*, was ſo terrified on this occaſion that he ſent away his children privately to the iſland of *Cythera*.

When the enemy attempted to paſs the river in order to attack the town, *Ageſilaus* betook himſelf to the higheſt part of it which was in the middle, and there he drew up his army. It happened at that time that the *Eurotas* was ſwelled to a great height, by reaſon of the ſnow that had fallen, which made the paſſage very difficult to the *Thebans*, not only from the violence of the ſtream, but much more from the coldneſs of the water. *Epaminondas* was the firſt perſon that paſſed at the head of his infantry, and every where appeared the foremoſt man in the army; ſome of the *Spartans* having ſhowed him to *Ageſilaus*, he looked ſtedfaſtly at him for a long time, ſilently following all his motions with his eyes, and at laſt uttered only this exclamation, *What heroick ſpirit and vigour! Epaminondas* was ambitious to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but as he could not tempt *Ageſilaus* out of his advantageous poſt, he was forced to march off again, waſting the country as he went.

In the mean time a conſpiracy broke out in *Sparta*, where two hundred malecontents, who had for a long time concealed their traitorous purpoſes, and waited for ſuch an opportunity, got into a ſtrong part of the town called *Hiſſorion*, where they ſeized upon the temple of *Diana*. The *Spartans* would inſtantly have fallen upon them; but *Ageſilaus* not knowing how far the ſedition might reach, commanded them to forbear; and going himſelf in his cloak, with but one ſervant, when he came near the rebels, he called out to them, and ſaid, *You have miſtaken my orders. My*

directions were not that you ſhould all go in a body to that ſtation, but that ſome of you ſhould plant yourſelves there, and others there; at the ſame time pointing out to them different parts of the city. The conſpirators gladly heard this diſcourſe, thinking themſelves not ſuſpected, and readily went off to the places which he ſhowed them. Whereupon *Ageſilaus* immediately ordered ſome of the troops to poſſeſs themſelves of that poſt, and having cauſed about fifteen of the conſpirators to be apprehended, he commanded that they ſhould be put to death the night following.

After this a much more dangerous conſpiracy was diſcovered of a great number of *Spartan* citizens, who met privately at a certain place, where they conſulted how to introduce a change in the government. It was equally dangerous, during the preſent confuſion, to proſecute them publickly, and to connive at them. *Ageſilaus* therefore, by conſent of the *Ephori*, put them to death privately without proceſs; a thing never before known in *Sparta*.

At this time alſo many of the *Helots*, and other mercenaries, that were liſted in the army, ran away to the enemy, which produced a great conſternation in the city. He therefore cauſed ſome officers, every morning before day, to ſearch the quarters of the ſoldiers, and where any man was gone, to hide his arms, that ſo the greatneſs of the number might not appear.

Hiſtorians differ about the cauſe of the departure of the *Thebans* from *Sparta*. Some ſay that the winter forced them; and that the *Arcadian* ſoldiers diſbanding, made it neceſſary for the reſt to retire. Others ſay, that they ſtayed there three months, till they had laid waſte the whole country. *Theopompus* ſays, that when the governors of *Bœotia* had given orders to decamp, *Phrixus* the *Spartan* came and offered the *Thebans* ten talents from *Ageſilaus* to purchaſe their retreat; ſo that, according to him, when they were retiring of their own accord, they received money from

from their enemies to defray the expences of their march. How he alone ſhould come to the knowledge of this particular, I know not. But all authors agree, that *Sparta* was ſaved from ruin by *Ageſilaus*, who in this extremity of affairs quitted his two darling paſſions, ambition and obſtinacy, and ſtudied only the ſecurity and preſervation of the city. He could not, however, after this great overthrow, reſtore it to its ancient greatneſs. For as in healthy bodies long uſed to a ſtrict and regular diet, the leaſt deviation from the preſcribed rule is generally fatal; ſo one error deſtroyed the ſtrength and proſperity of this city. And this may be eaſily accounted for. The conſtitution of *Sparta* was excellently framed for promoting peace, virtue and concord; but when the people began to aim at conqueſt, and to extend their dominions by force of arms contrary to the intention of *Lycurgus*, who thought that ſuch acquiſitions were of no importance to the happineſs of a ſtate, the conſequence was diſgrace and ruin.

Ageſilaus being now very aged, gave over all military employments; but his ſon *Archidamus*, having received ſome ſuccours from *Dionyſius* of *Sicily*, defeated the *Arcadians* in an engagement known by the name of *the fearleſs battle*, wherein there was a great ſlaughter of the enemy without the loſs of one *Spartan*. This victory did but too much diſcover the preſent weakneſs of *Sparta*; for formerly victory was eſteemed ſo uſual a thing with them, that for their greateſt ſucceſſes they only ſacrificed a cock to the Gods; the ſoldiers never boaſted, nor were the citizens extravagantly joyful at the news. Nay, when the great victory was obtained at *Mantinea*, which is deſcribed by *Thucydides*, the meſſenger that brought the news had no other reward, than a piece of meat which was ſent to him from the publick table. But at the news of this *Arcadian* victory, they were not able to contain themſelves; the King went out in proceſſion with tears of joy in his eyes, and attended

tended by the magiſtrates, to meet and embrace his ſon. The old men and the women marched out in crouds as far as the river *Eurotas*, lifting up their hands, and thanking the Gods, as if *Sparta* had that day waſhed off the ſtain that ſo lately ſtuck upon her, and had juſt then recovered her ancient ſplendor. For we are told that till then the married men durſt not look their wives in the face, through ſhame for their late loſſes.

When *Epaminondas* was rebuilding *Meſſene*, and recalling the ancient inhabitants to repeople it, the *Spartans* durſt not appear in the field to obſtruct it; though they were much concerned at it, and were full of reſentment againſt *Ageſilaus* for ſuffering ſo large a territory, equal to their own in compaſs, for fertility the richeſt of all *Greece*, and which they had enjoyed ſo long, to be taken from them in his reign. For this reaſon he refuſed to accept of peace when offered him by the *Thebans*. He could not be brought to make a formal ceſſion of that which they had already in poſſeſſion. But this obſtinacy had like to have coſt him dear; for he not only failed of recovering that territory, but in the progreſs of the war was over-reached by a ſtratagem, which brought *Sparta* itſelf into the moſt imminent danger. For when the *Mantineans* had again revolted from the *Thebans* to the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Epaminondas* underſtood that *Ageſilaus* was marching to their aſſiſtance with a powerful army, he privately in the night quitted his quarters at *Tegea*, and unknown to the *Mantineans*, paſſing by *Ageſilaus* marched towards *Sparta*, which he almoſt ſurprized empty and defenceleſs. *Ageſilaus* being informed of this by *Euthynus* the *Theſpian*, according to *Calliſthenes*, or by ſome *Cretan* according to *Xenophon*, immediately diſpatched a meſſenger on horſeback to *Sparta* to advertiſe the citizens of it, and he himſelf arrived ſoon after. In a little time the *Thebans* appeared, and having paſſed the *Eurotas*, aſſaulted the town. *Ageſilaus* received

them

them with great courage, and exerted himſelf much beyond what was to be expected from his years. For he did not now fight with that caution which he formerly made uſe of, but rather with a deſperate boldneſs, which (though not his uſual method) ſucceeded ſo well, that he reſcued the city out of the hands of *Epaminondas*, erected a trophy for his victory, and ſhowed even to the women and children how nobly the *Lacedæmonians* paid the debt which they owed to their country for their education. *Archidamus* ſignally diſtinguiſhed himſelf that day both by his courage and his agility, flying from place to place, preſenting himſelf in all the moſt dangerous paſſes, and with a few companions continually repulſing the enemy where they preſſed hardeſt into the town. But the greateſt example of valour was given by *Iſadas*, the ſon of *Phœbidas*, to the admiration of the enemy as well as of his friends. He was tall and beautiful, and juſt in that bloom of youth which is the boundary betwixt childhood and manhood. He had neither arms nor clothes to cover him, having juſt before anointed his body with oil. When the alarm was given he ran out immediately with a ſpear in one hand and a ſword in the other, and ruſhed into the thickeſt of his enemies, bearing down all before him. He received no wound, whether he were the particular care of ſome God, who rewarded his valour with an extraordinary protection, or whether he appeared to the enemy to be ſomething more than man. The gallantry of the action was ſo eſteemed among the *Spartans*, that the *Ephori* gave him a garland; but afterwards they fined him a thouſand drachmas for going out to battle unarmed.

A few days after this there was another battle fought near *Mantinea*, wherein *Epaminondas* having routed the van of the *Lacedæmonians*, being eager in the purſuit of them, *Anticrates* the *Laconian* wounded him with a ſpear, according to *Dioſcorides*, though others ſay it was with a ſword, which is the moſt probable,

probable, for the *Spartans* to this day call the poſterity of *Anticrates*, *Macheriones*, or *ſwordmen*, becauſe he ſlew *Epaminondas* with a ſword. They ſo dreaded *Epaminondas* when living, that *Anticrates* was beloved and admired by all; nay, they decreed honours and rewards to him, and to his poſterity an immunity from all taxes. This privilege *Callicrates* one of his deſcendants now enjoys.

Epaminondas being ſlain, there was a general peace again concluded, from which *Ageſilaus* excluded the *Meſſenians* as men that had no city, and therefore would not let them ſwear to the league; to which when the reſt of the *Greeks* admitted them, the *Lacedæmonians* broke off, and continued the war alone, in hopes of recovering *Meſſenia*. For this reaſon *Ageſilaus* was eſteemed a man of a violent obſtinate diſpoſition, and inſatiably fond of war, who took ſuch pains to hinder the league, and to protract the war at a time when he had not money wherewith to carry it on, but was forced to borrow of the citizens, and to oppreſs them with heavy taxes; whereas it was high time to eaſe them of their burdens, and put an end to their calamities, inſtead of labouring by every method to recover the country of *Meſſenia*, after he had loſt ſo great an empire both by ſea and land, as the *Spartans* were poſſeſſed of, when he came to the crown.

But he was ſtill more cenſured for putting himſelf into the ſervice of *Tachos* the *Egyptian* (7). It was thought unworthy of him, who was then looked upon as the greateſt man in all *Greece*, who had filled all countries with his renown, to let out his perſon and reputation to hire to a barbarian, an *Egyptian* rebel, and to fight for pay, as Captain only of a band of mer-

(7) But this action is not in the leaſt to be condemned, when conſidered as *Xenophon*, a contemporary author, has related it. He tells us that *Ageſilaus* being informed that *Tachos* King of *Egypt* was raiſing a great army, in order to fall upon the King of *Perſia*, was pleaſed to find himſelf invited to accept of the command of that army. For he hoped he ſhould by that means

mercenaries. If when he was above eighty years old, after his body was worn out with age, and enfeebled with wounds, he had engaged in ſome very honourable cauſe, even for the liberty of *Greece*, it might have been eſteemed an unſeaſonable ambition and worthy of ſome reproof. For a certain congruity of time and circumſtances is neceſſary to render an action good; nay, it may be ſaid that a juſtneſs of meaſure and degree alone diſtinguiſhes virtue from vice. But *Ageſilaus* was not governed by theſe conſiderations; he thought no publick employment diſhonourable; the ignobleſt thing in his eſteem was for a man to ſit idle at home, till death overtook him. The money therefore that he received from *Tachos*, he laid out in hiring ſome mercenary troops; and having filled his ſhips, and taken thirty *Spartans* with him for his council, as formerly he had done in his *Aſiatick* expedition, he ſet ſail for *Egypt*.

As ſoon as he arrived, all the great officers of the kingdom came to pay their complements to him. His great reputation had raiſed the expectation of the whole country, which flocked to ſee him; but when they found, inſtead of the majeſty and ſplendor which they looked for, a little old man of a contemptible appearance lying down upon the graſs, in a mean garb, they could not refrain from laughter and raillery, crying out, *that this was like the fable of the mountain which brought forth a mouſe.* They were much more ſurprized at his abſurdity and ruſticity when the preſents uſually offered to ſtrangers of diſtinction were brought to him; for he took only the meal, the calves, and the geeſe, but rejected the ſweet-meats, the confections and perfumes: and when

means be able to make ſome grateful return to *Tachos* for his many ſervices to the *Lacedæmonians*, that he ſhould be able to reſtore the *Greek* cities in *Aſia* to their liberty, and revenge the wrongs done the *Spartans* by the King of *Perſia* in times paſt, as well as his late ill office in forcing them to give up *Meſſene*, though at the ſame time he called himſelf their ally.

(8) This

when they urged him to accept them, he ſaid, *They might carry them to the* Helots. *Theophraſtus* ſays that he was highly pleaſed with the *Egyptian Papyrus*, becauſe on account of its thinneſs and pliantneſs it was very proper to make garlands; and when he left *Egypt*, he deſired the King to let him carry ſome of it home with him.

When he joined with *Tachos*, he found his expectation of being General fruſtrated; *Tachos* reſerved that place for himſelf, making *Ageſilaus* only Captain of the mercenaries, and *Chabrias* the *Athenian* Admiral. This was the firſt occaſion of his diſcontent; but there followed others; and he was obliged for a conſiderable time to bear with the inſolence and vanity of this *Egyptian*. At length he was forced to attend on him into *Phœnicia*, in a condition much below his ſpirit and dignity. However he ſubmitted to it for a while, till he had an opportunity of ſhowing his reſentment. It was ſoon afforded him by *Nectanabis*, *Tachos*'s own couſin, and a commander under him, who revolted from his uncle, and was proclaimed King by the *Egyptians*. This man invited *Ageſilaus* and *Chabrias* to his party, offering great rewards to both. *Tachos* being advertiſed of it, had recourſe to perſuaſions, prayers, and entreaties. *Chabrias* was prevailed upon, and endeavoured by remonſtrances to reconcile *Ageſilaus* to *Tachos*, and keep him firm to his intereſt. But he replied, *You, O* Chabrias, *came hither a volunteer, and may go or ſtay as you pleaſe; but I am the ſervant of* Sparta, *appointed to head the* Ægyptians, *and therefore I cannot fight againſt thoſe to whom I was ſent as a friend, unleſs I am commanded to do ſo by my country.* At the ſame time he diſpatched meſſengers to *Sparta*, by whom he accuſed *Tachos* to the ſenate, and juſtified *Nectanabis*. The two *Ægyptians* alſo ſent ambaſſadors to *Lacedæmon*, to ſollicit the favour of the *Spartans*, the one as being their old friend and confederate, and the other as

as a perſon already well affected towards them, and whom a ſenſe of gratitude would abſolutely devote to their ſervice. The *Spartans* having heard both ſides, ſent this publick anſwer, *That they referred the whole matter to* Ageſilaus, and wrote privately to him, *to act as he ſhould find it beſt for the intereſt of the common-wealth.* Upon receipt of his orders, he ſoon changed ſides, and carried all the mercenaries with him to *Nectanabis*, covering this ſcandalous and unworthy conduct with the plauſible pretence of acting for the benefit of his country; whereas that vail being taken off, the fact deſerves no better name than treachery. But the *Lacedæmonians*, who make it the firſt principle of virtue to ſerve their country, know not any thing to be juſt or unjuſt by any meaſure but that.

Tachos being thus deſerted by the mercenaries fled; but at the ſame time another Prince of the city of *Mendes*, put in his claim, and being declared King by his party, marched at the head of a hundred thouſand men againſt *Nectanabis*. *Nectanabis* in his diſcourſe with *Ageſilaus* deſpiſed them as men who though many in number, were artiſans and tradeſmen, and ſtrangers to martial diſcipline. To whom *Ageſilaus* anſwered, *That he deſpiſed their numbers, but was afraid of their ignorance, which gave no room for deceiving them by art and ſtratagem; for thoſe are to be uſed only upon cunning and crafty men, who being ſuſpicious of the enemies deſigns, and forming others to countermine them, often fall into the ſnare unadviſedly; but he, who neither ſuſpects nor fears any thing, gives no more opportunity to the enemy, than he who ſtands ſtill gives to a wreſtler.* This *Mendeſian* was not wanting in his ſollicitations to *Ageſilaus*, ſo that *Nectanabis* grew ſuſpicious. But when *Ageſilaus* adviſed him to fight the enemy immediately, and not to protract the war with ſuch men, who though rude and ignorant, would ſo increaſe in numbers, as wholly to encompaſs them,

and

and prevent their designs; this confirmed him in his jealousy, and made him take the quite contrary course, and retreat into a city fortified with large and strong walls. *Agesilaus* finding himself mistrusted, was very much incensed; yet being ashamed to change sides again, or to return home without performing any thing, he was forced to follow *Nectanabis*, and shut himself up with him in the town.

When the enemy came up, and began to draw an intrenchment about the town, the *Egyptian* fearing the event of a siege, was resolving upon a battle; The *Greeks* were also of the same opinion, the provisions growing already scarce in the place. When *Agesilaus* opposed it, the *Egyptians* suspected him more than ever, and publickly called him a traitor. But *Agesilaus* heard all these reproaches patiently, and pursued the design which he had laid to over-reach the enemy. It was this.

The enemy had drawn a deep ditch about the wall, resolving to shut up the King entirely. When the ditch was brought almost quite round, and the two ends were nearly joined together, *Agesilaus* waiting for the advantage of the night, ordered all his *Greeks* to arm: Then going to the King, he said, *This, young man, is your opportunity of saving yourself, which I durst not all this while discover, lest the discovery should prevent it; but now the enemy have by their own labour provided for our security. As much of this ditch as is finished will prevent them from surrounding us with their multitude, the gap yet left will be sufficient for us to sally out by: now follow us, and by fighting valiantly save yourself and your army; their front will not be able to stand against us, and the ditch will secure us from the rest.* *Nectanabis* admiring the wisdom of *Agesilaus*, immediately placed himself in the *Grecian* army, and attacked the enemy who were very easily defeated. *Agesilaus* having now gotten credit with the King, employed again a stratagem of the same kind

kind against the enemy. He ſometimes pretended a retreat, and ſometimes turned about and faced them; by which means he at laſt drew their whole army into a place encloſed between two ditches that were very deep and full of water. When he had them at this advantage, he ſoon charged them, drawing up the front of his battle equal to the ſpace between the two ditches, ſo that they had no way of ſurrounding him, being encloſed themſelves on both ſides. They made but little reſiſtance; many fell, the reſt fled and were diſperſed.

Nectanabis being thus ſettled in his kingdom, with great kindneſs and earneſtneſs invited *Ageſilaus* to ſpend his winter in *Egypt:* but he made haſte home to aſſiſt in the wars of his own country, whoſe treaſury he knew to be empty, though the *Spartans* were forced to hire mercenaries. The King diſmiſſed him very honourably, and among other gifts, preſented the city of *Sparta* with two hundred and thirty talents of ſilver, towards the charge of the war. But the winter-ſeaſon coming on, *Ageſilaus* was driven by a ſtorm upon a deſart ſhore in *Africa*, called *The haven of* Menelaus, where he expired, being then eighty-four years old, of which he had reigned forty-one in *Lacedæmon.* The firſt thirty years of his reign he paſſed in great ſplendor, being eſteemed the moſt powerful Prince of all *Greece*, and conſidered in it as King and commander in chief, till the battle of *Leuctra.* It was the cuſtom of the *Spartans* to bury perſons of ordinary rank in the place where they died, whatſoever country it was, but their kings they embalmed and carried home. The attendants of *Ageſilaus* not having proper materials to embalm him, for want of honey which they commonly uſed, wrapped his body in wax, and ſo conveyed him to *Lacedæmon.*

His

His ſon *Archidamus* ſucceeded him in his throne, (8) ſo did his poſterity ſucceſſively to *Agis*, the fifth from *Ageſilaus*; who was murdered by *Leonidas*, for attempting to reſtore the ancient diſcipline of *Sparta*.

(8) This is the genealogy.

Ageſilaus
|
Archidamus
|
Agis II. and *Eudamidas*.

Agis dying without children, his brother *Eudamidas* ſucceeded, and had a ſon named *Archidamus*.

Archidamus IV.
|
Eudamidas II.
|
Agis III.



POMPEY.

THE people of *Rome* ſeem to have been affected towards *Pompey*, even from his early youth, in the ſame manner as *Prometheus* in the tragedy of *Æſchylus* is towards *Hercules*, when after he had been releaſed by him, he ſays,

Thou deareſt offſpring of an hated ſire! (1)

For

(1) *Æſchylus* wrote two tragedies, one called Προμηθεὺς δεσμώτης, Prometheus *in chains*, and the other Προμηθεὺς λυόμενος, Prometheus *releaſed*. The latter is loſt, there being only ſome fragments of it remaining. It is from this piece that the line here quoted is taken. For *Jupiter* had chained *Prometheus* to the rocks of mount *Caucaſus*, from whence *Hercules* had releaſed him.

For on one hand never did the *Romans* ſhow ſuch a violent and bitter hatred againſt any of their generals, as they did againſt *Strabo*, the father of *Pompey*. During his lifetime, it is true, they ſtood in awe of his power as a General, for he had great military talents; but immediately upon his death, which happened by a thunderbolt, they dragged his corpſe from the herſe, as it was carried to interment, and treated it with the greateſt indignity. On the other ſide, never did any *Roman* experience the affection of the people, earlier begun, more conſtantly attending his proſperity, or more ſteadily continued in his adverſity, than *Pompey*. In *Strabo* there was one great cauſe of their hatred, his inſatiable covetouſneſs; but in *Pompey* there were many qualities for which they loved him; (2) his temperance, his application to martial exerciſes, his eloquence, his integrity, his affability and graceful behaviour; ſo that no man was leſs burdenſome to thoſe from whom he aſked favours, or to thoſe on whom he conferred them: when he gave, it was without arrogance; and when he received, it was with dignity.

In his youth his countenance was extremely engaging, and prejudiced in his favour thoſe who addreſſed him, even before he ſpoke. The ſweetneſs of his aſpect was ſuch as expreſſed dignity combined with gentleneſs and humanity; and amid the bloom of youth he had an auguſt and majeſtick air which commanded reſpect. His hair was naturally ſomewhat erect, and the ſhining moiſture and lively motion of his eyes gave him a reſemblance of *Alexander*, according to the deſcriptions we have of him, much greater than

(2) *Velleius Paterculus* has given us a fine deſcription of him. *Formâ excellens*, ſays he, *non ea qua flos commendatur ætatis, ſed ex dignitate conſtante, quæ in illam conveniens amplitudinem, fortunam quoque ejus, ad ultimum vitæ comitata eſt diem. Innocentiâ eximius, ſanctitate præcipuus, eloquentiâ medius, potentiæ, quæ honoris cauſa ad eum deferretur, non ut eâ occuparetur, cupidiſſimus: dux bello peritiſſimus, civis in togâ, niſi ubi vereretur ne quem haberet parem, modeſtiſſimus*

than appears in the ſtatues of that Prince. Some therefore gave him that name in earneſt, with which he was not diſpleaſed; others called him ſo in deriſion; and it is ſaid that (3) *Lucius Philippus*, a man of conſular dignity, when he was one day pleading in his favour, ſaid *it was no wonder that* Philip *ſhould be a lover of* Alexander.

It is reported of *Flora* the courtezan, that when ſhe was advanced in years ſhe took great delight in relating her amours with *Pompey*, and uſed to ſay, that ſhe could never part with him after he had lain with her without giving him a bite. She alſo ſaid, that one *Geminius*, an intimate friend of *Pompey*, fell in love with her, and was very importunate in his addreſſes. When ſhe refuſed to comply, and told him that ſhe could not gratify his deſires for *Pompey's* ſake, he applied to *Pompey*, who freely gave his conſent; but he never afterwards would touch her, or have any converſe with her, though he ſeemed to retain a ſtrong paſſion for her. This *Flora* reſented, but not with the levity of a ſtrumpet, for ſhe languiſhed afterwards under a tedious ſickneſs through grief and deſire. *Flora* was however ſo celebrated for her beauty, that *Cæcilius Metellus*, when he adorned the temples of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* with ſtatues and pictures, dedicated her picture among the reſt. But *Pompey's* ſelf denial never appeared in a ſtronger light, than in his deportment towards the wife of *Demetrius* his enfranchiſed ſervant, who had a great influence upon him in his lifetime, and left an eſtate of four thouſand talents behind him; for contrary to his natural diſpoſition he behaved towards her with great

modeſtiſſimus. Amicitiarum tenax, in offenſis exorabilis, in reconcilianda gratia fideliſſimus, &c. He adds that he would have been clear of all faults but for that one which would not ſuffer him to bear an equal.

(3) *L. Martius Philippus*, one of the greateſt orators of his time. He was father-in-law to *Auguſtus*, having married his mother *Attia*. *Horace* makes mention of him, *Lib.* i. *Epiſt.* vii.

great rudeneſs and incivility, that he might not appear to be captivated with her beauty, which was very uncommon, and was eſteemed irreſiſtible. But notwithſtanding his caution and circumſpection in matters of this nature, he could not avoid the calumnies of his enemies, who accuſed him of carrying on intrigues with ſome married women, for whoſe ſake he often neglected the buſineſs of the publick.

As to his ſobriety and temperance in diet, there is one remarkable inſtance of it related. In a fit of ſickneſs when his ſtomach nauſeated common meats, his phyſician preſcribed him a thruſh to eat; but upon ſearch, there was none to be bought, for they were not then in ſeaſon; and when ſome perſon told him, they were to be had at *Lucullus*'s, who kept them all the year round: *What*, ſaid he, *if it were not for* Lucullus's *luxury*, *muſt not* Pompey *live?* Therefore diſmiſſing his phyſician, he contented himſelf with ſuch meat as could eaſily be procured. But this happened afterwards.

When he was a very young man, and ſerved in an expedition in which his father was appointed General againſt *Cinna*, he had a companion with him in his tent, one *Lucius Terentius*, who being corrupted by *Cinna*, entered into an engagement to kill *Pompey*, as others had done to ſet the General's tent on fire. This conſpiracy being diſcovered to *Pompey* at ſupper, he ſeemed not at all diſcompoſed at it, but drank more freely than uſual, and expreſſed an extraordinary kindneſs to *Terentius*; till about bed-time, pretending to go to his repoſe, he ſtole away ſecretly out of his own tent, and ſetting a guard about his father, quietly expected the event. *Terentius* when he thought it was time to put his enterprize in execution, roſe and drew his ſword, and coming to *Pompey*'s bedſide, pierced through the bedcloaths ſeveral times as if he were lying there. Immediately upon this there was a great uproar throughout all the camp, ariſing from the hatred the ſoldiers bore to the General, and an

universal inclination to revolt, all tearing down their tents, and betaking themselves to their arms. The General himself all this while durst not venture out because of the tumult, but *Pompey* running into the midst of them, besought them with tears to return, and at last threw himself prostrate upon his face before the gate of the camp, and lay there weeping in the passage, and bidding those that were marching off, if they would go, to trample upon him: whereupon every man began to retreat, and all except eight hundred, through shame and compassion, repented of their folly, and were reconciled to the General.

Immediately upon the death of *Strabo*, who was charged with having embezzled the publick treasure, there was an action commenced against *Pompey* as his heir. But *Pompey* having with great labour traced the theft, charged it upon one *Alexander*, an enfranchised slave of his father's, and clearly proved before the judges that he had purloined and converted it to his own use. Afterwards he himself was arraigned, for having seized some hunting-nets and books that were taken at *Asculum*. He acknowledged indeed that he received them from his father when he took *Asculum*, but said, that he had lost them since; which happened upon *Cinna*'s return to *Rome*, when his house was broke open and plundered by his guards. In this cause he had a great many preparatory pleadings against his accuser, in which he showed an accuteness and steadiness of mind beyond his years, which gained him great reputation; so that *Antistius* the Prætor, who was the principal judge in that cause, conceived such an affection for *Pompey*, that he offered him his daughter in matriage, and spoke to his friends on the subject. *Pompey* accepted the offer, and they were privately contracted. However this affair was not managed so privately as to escape the multitude, but it was discernible enough from the favour that was shown him by *Antistius*; and at last, when *Antistius* pro-

nounced the abſolutory ſentence of the judges, the people (as if it had been upon a ſignal given) made the ſame acclamation that had been uſed at marriages even from the earlieſt times, crying out *Talaſio*. The original of that cuſtom is reported to be this. When the daughters of the *Sabines* came to *Rome*, to ſee the ſhows and ſports there, and were violently ſeized upon by the nobles for wives, it happened that ſome herdſmen of mean rank were carrying off a tall and beautiful virgin; and leſt any of the nobles ſhould meet them, and take her away, as they ran they cried out with one voice *Talaſio*. *Talaſius* was a perſon of diſtinction and very much beloved; ſo that all who heard the name, clapped their hands, and joined in the ſhout, as applauding and congratulating him: And they ſay that becauſe that proved a fortunate match to *Talaſius* therefore this acclamation is jocularly uſed as a nuptial ſong at all weddings. This is the moſt credible account that I can meet with touching *Talaſio* (4).

Some few days after this ſentence was pronounced, *Pompey* married *Antiſtia*. He then went to *Cinna*'s camp, where finding that ſome falſe accuſations were raiſed againſt him, he began to be afraid, and withdrew privately. This ſudden diſappearance occaſioned a rumour throughout the whole army that *Cinna* had murdered the young man; upon which all that had been diſobliged by him and hated him, reſolved to make an aſſault upon him. As he was endeavouring to make his eſcape, he was ſeized by a centurion, who purſued him with his naked ſword. *Cinna* falling upon his knees, offered him a ſeal of great value for his ranſom; but the centurion replied very inſolently, *I come not here to ſeal a covenant, but to be revenged upon a lawleſs and wicked tyrant*, and ſo diſpatched him immediately.

Cinna being ſlain in this manner was ſucceeded by *Carbo*,

(4) See ſome further account of this cuſtom in the life of *Romulus*, Vol. I. p. 68.

(5) The

Carbo, a more violent and furious tyrant than he. But ſhortly after *Sylla* returned into *Italy*, a man deſired by the greateſt part of the *Romans*, who under their preſent calamities thought it a great happineſs even to change their maſter. For the city was reduced ſo low by thoſe grievous oppreſſions, that every man utterly deſpairing of liberty, only conſidered now which was the mildeſt and moſt tolerable bondage.

About that time *Pompey* was at *Picenum* in *Italy*, where he had an eſtate; but the chief motive of his abode in that country, was the hereditary affection of the cities there, which his family had enjoyed for many generations. When he perceived that the nobleſt and beſt of the citizens began to forſake their habitations, and fly from all quarters to *Sylla*'s camp as to their haven, he determined likewiſe to repair thither among the reſt, but diſdained to go alone as a fugitive, or one who wanted protection; he choſe rather to oblige *Sylla* at his very firſt ſetting out, and to render himſelf ſerviceable to him by appearing before him at the head of an army. To that end he ſollicited the *Picentines* for their aſſiſtance, who cordially embraced his motion, and rejected thoſe that were ſent from *Carbo*; ſo that when one *Vindius* ſaid that Pompey *from a ſchool-boy was ſuddenly become their chief orator and commander*, they were ſo incenſed againſt him, that immediately they fell upon him, and ſlew him. Soon after this *Pompey*, though as yet not above twenty-three years of age, without being nominated to the command by any other perſon, aſſumed to himſelf a full power and juriſdiction. He cauſed a tribunal to be erected in the market-place of *Auximum*, a populous city, and baniſhed from thence by an edict two of the principal men, the *Ventidii*, who were brothers, and of *Carbo*'s faction. He then levied ſoldiers and gave commiſſions to centurions and other officers, according to the form of military diſcipline. In this manner he went round, and model-

led all the reſt of the cities thereabouts; ſo that as thoſe who were of *Carbo*'s faction fled, and all others chearfully ſubmitted to his command, in a little time he collected three entire legions; and having ſupplied himſelf with all manner of proviſions, beaſts of burden, carriages, and all other implements of war, he ſet forwards on his march towards *Sylla*, not in haſte, nor as if he was deſirous to be concealed, but frequently halting upon the road, in order to diſtreſs and annoy the enemy, and to perſuade the inhabitants of thoſe parts of *Italy* through which he paſſed to revolt from *Carbo*.

There were three commanders on the enemy's ſide, *Carinnas*, *Cælius*, and *Brutus*, who oppoſed him at the ſame time, and drew up their forces, not all in the front, nor yet together on any one part; but encamping three ſeveral armies in a circle about him, they reſolved to encompaſs and deſtroy him at once. *Pompey* was not at all intimidated; but drawing up all his forces into one body, and placing his horſe in the front of the battle, where he himſelf was in perſon, he bent all his forces againſt *Brutus*. The enemy's horſe which conſiſted chiefly of *Gauls*, reſolutely came on to the attack; but *Pompey* ſingling out their commander, a brave and gallant officer, encountered him hand to hand, and watching his opportunity, made a home thruſt at him with his lance, and ſlew him. The reſt ſeeing this, turned their backs, and fled in great diſorder, breaking the ranks of their own infantry, ſo that a total rout enſued. Upon this the commanders fell out among themſelves, and they marched off, each a different way, as chance directed them. The towns round about ſurrendered to *Pompey*, when they ſaw that the enemy was diſperſed for fear. Some time after *Scipio* the Conſul came to attack him; but before the armies could join, or were within reach of each others darts, *Scipio*'s ſoldiers ſaluted *Pompey*'s, and came over to them. *Scipio* made his eſcape by flight. Laſt of all, *Carbo* himſelf

ſelf ſent down ſeveral bodies of horſe by the river *Arſis*, which *Pompey* attacked with the ſame courage and ſucceſs as before; for having routed and put them to flight, he forced them in the purſuit into a rough uneven place, altogether unpaſſable for horſe, where ſeeing no hopes of eſcape, they ſurrendered themſelves with their horſes and arms.

Sylla was hitherto unacquainted with all theſe exploits; but as ſoon as common fame had brought him the firſt intelligence of them, he was extremely concerned, fearing leſt *Pompey* ſhould be overpowered by ſo many and ſuch experienced commanders, and marched with all ſpeed to his aſſiſtance. *Pompey* having advice of his approach, gave orders to his officers, that the ſoldiers ſhould be completly armed and drawn up in order of battle, that thy might appear to the greateſt advantage before thir General; for he expected indeed great honours from him, but he met with greater; for as ſoon as *Sylla* ſaw him advancing, with an army compoſed of ſoldiers well made and of a manly appearance, and whoſe joy for their ſucceſs had encreaſed the boldneſs and livelineſs of their aſpect, he alighted from his horſe, and being firſt ſaluted by the title of *Imperator*, as indeed he had a right to be, he returned the ſame ſalutation to *Pompey*, contrary to the expectation of all that were preſent, who little imagined that he would have given to one ſo young, and who was not yet a ſenator, a title ſo honourable, and for which he had ſo deſperately contended againſt the factions of *Sipo* and *Marius*. And indeed all the reſt of his deportment was agreeable to his firſt compliments; for whenever *Pompey* came into his preſence, he roſe up and uncovered his head, which he was rarely ſeen to do to any other perſon, though he had many with him of great valour, as well as noble birth. *Pompey* however was not elated with theſe favours: and when *Sylla* would have ſent him into *Gaul*, a province under the government

ment of *Metellus*, becauſe *Metellus* had done nothing worthy of that great army he commanded there, *Pompey* replied, *That it could never be thought juſt or honourable for him, to extort a province out of the hand of an ancient General, and one of ſo much greater fame and experience than himſelf; however if* Metellus *were willing, and would command his ſervice, he ſhould be very ready to accompany and aſſiſt him in the war.* When *Metellus* had accepted his offer, and given him an invitation by letter *Pompey* marched immediately into *Gaul*, where he not only performed wonderful exploits himſelf, but alſo blew up and rekindled that bold and warlike ſpirit, which old age had in a manner extinguiſhed in *Metellus*; juſt as melted copper when poured upon that which is cold and ſolid, diſſolves it faſter than fire itſelf. But as it is not uſual to record the victories obtained in childhood by a wreſtler who afterwards diſtinguiſhes himſelf among men, and wins the prize from all his antagoniſts in the publick games; in the ſame manner, though the early exploits of *Pompey* were great in themſelves, yet as they were obſcured and buried in the multitude and greatneſs of his later wars and conqueſts, I dare not be particular in deſcribing them, leſt by ſpending too much time upon his youthful atchievements, I ſhould be tempted to omit thoſe greater actions and enterprizes which beſt diſcover his genius and diſpoſition.

When *Sylla* had brought all *Italy* under his dominion, and was proclaimed Dictator, he began to reward the reſt of his followers by giving them eſtates and advancing them to places of honour and truſt, largely and liberaly gratifying every man according to his deſire. But as he held *Pompey*'s virtue and great qualities in the higheſt admiration, and thought that he might prove a great ſupport to him hereafter in all his deſigns, he was very ſolicitous to contract an alliance with him; and having likewiſe the approbation of his wife *Metella*, he perſuaded him to divorce *Antiſtia*, and marry *Æmilia* (the daughter-in-law of *Sylla*,

Sylla, by *Metella*, and *Scaurus* her former husband) though she was at that very time the wife of another man, and with child by him. This was a very tyrannical marriage; and it was much more agreeable to the times of *Sylla*, than to the nature and genius of *Pompey*, that *Æmilia* when big with child should be ravished from the embraces of another upon his account, and that *Antistia* should be divorced dishonourably and cruelly by him for whose sake she had been but just before bereft of her father; for her father *Antistius* was murdered in the senate, because he was suspected to be a favourer of *Sylla* for *Pompey*'s sake. Her mother when she saw these indignities, put an end to her own life. And that there might be nothing wanting to complete the tragedy of this marriage, *Æmilia* herself not long after died in childbed at *Pompey*'s house.

About this time *Sylla* was informed that *Perpenna* had possessed himself of *Sicily*, whereby that island was now become a refuge for those who survived of the adverse party; that *Carbo* was hovering about those seas with a navy; that *Domitius* had invaded *Africa*; and that many of the exiled nobles, who fled before they were proscribed, were daily flocking to those parts. Against these therefore was *Pompey* sent with a great army; and no sooner was he arrived in *Sicily*, but *Perpenna* departed thence, leaving the whole island to him. *Pompey* received the distressed cities into favour, and treated them all with great humanity, except that of the *Mamertines* in *Messene*; for when they protested against his jurisdiction, alledging their privilege and exemption founded upon an ancient grant of the *Romans*, he replied, *What! will you never leave quoting laws to us who have our swords by our sides?* It is thought likewise, that he showed but little humanity to *Carbo*, and seemed to insult over his misfortunes. For if there had been a necessity (as perhaps there was) that he should be put to death, that ought to have been done at first, as soon

as

as he was taken priſoner, for then it would have been the act of him that commanded it. But *Pompey* ordered a man who had been thrice Conſul of *Rome* to be brought in fetters to the bar, and he himſelf ſitting upon the bench, examined the cauſe, and pronounced ſentence of death upon him as upon a common malefactor, to the grief and indignation of all that were preſent; after which he commanded him to be taken away and put to death. It is reported of *Carbo*, that as ſoon as he ſaw the ſword drawn for execution, he deſired a little reſpite, and a convenient place to eaſe himſelf, he being ſuddenly ſeized with a looſeneſs. (5) *Caius Oppius*, a particular friend of *Cæſar*, tells us, that *Pompey* dealt as barbarouſly with *Quintus Valerius*, a man of ſingular learning; for when he was brought to him, he took him aſide, and diſcourſed with him; and after a long conference, and full ſolution of all his queſtions, he ordered his officers to take him away, and put him to death. But we muſt be very cautious in believing what *Oppius* relates concerning the friends or enemies of *Cæſar*. This is certain, that there lay a neceſſity upon *Pompey* to be ſevere upon thoſe of *Sylla*'s enemies, who were perſons of eminence, and were publickly taken; but as to the reſt, he as far as he was able, connived at the concealment of ſome, and himſelf aſſiſted others to eſcape. When he had determined to puniſh ſeverely the city of the *Himeræans*, becauſe they ſided with the enemy, *Sthennius* one of their orators craving audience of *Pompey*, told him, *That it was unjuſt to paſs by the guilty, and to puniſh the innocent.* When *Pompey* aſked him whom he meant by *the guilty*, *Sthennius* replied, *myſelf; for I perſuaded my friends, and forced my enemies to act as they have done.* *Pompey* being much pleaſed with his freedom and boldneſs of ſpeech as well as with his magnanimity,

(5) The ſame that wrote an account of the *Spaniſh* war. He was likewiſe the author of ſeveral other works, among which was that of the lives of illuſtrious men; for his life of *Caſſius*, of the firſt *Scipio Africanus*, and of *Marius*, are quoted by other writers.

magnanimity, firſt forgave him his crime, and then pardoned all the reſt of the *Himeræans*. *Pompey* likewiſe hearing that his ſoldiers were very diſorderly in their march, and committed great outrages, ordered their ſwords to be ſealed up in their ſcabbards; and thoſe who did not keep the ſeal entire were ſeverely puniſhed.

Whilſt *Pompey* was thus buſy in ſettling the affairs of *Sicily*, he received a decree of the ſenate, and a commiſſion from *Sylla*, commanding him to ſail into *Africa*, and make war upon *Domitius* with all his forces. For *Domitius* had collected a far greater army than *Marius* had not long before, when he ſailed out of *Africa* into *Italy*, and extremely diſtreſſed the *Romans*, being of a fugitive outlaw, become a tyrant. *Pompey* therefore having with great diſpatch made the neceſſary preparations, and left *Memmius*, his ſiſter's huſband, Governor of *Sicily*, ſet ſail with an hundred and twenty gallies, and eight hundred other veſſels, laden with proviſions, money, arms, and military machines. Part of his fleet arrived at *Utica*, and part at *Carthage*; and no ſooner was he landed, but ſeven thouſand of the enemy revolted to him. The army which he brought with him conſiſted of ſix entire legions. They tell us of a pleaſant accident that happened to him at his firſt arrival. Some of his ſoldiers having found a conſiderable treaſure, the reſt imagined that the field was full of gold and ſilver, which had been hid there formerly by the *Carthaginians* in the time of their calamities; ſo that the army was uſeleſs to *Pompey* for many days, being totally engaged in digging for the fancied treaſure, he himſelf all the while walking up and down only, and laughing to ſee ſo many thouſands together, digging and turning up the earth. But at laſt, growing

writers. *Suetonius* reckons him among the moſt intimate of *Cæſar*'s friends, and to ſhow how zealous he was for him, he ſays that he had written a treatiſe on purpoſe to prove that *Cæſario* was not the ſon of *Cæſar*, as *Cleopatra* pretended.

(6) This

ing weary and hopeleſs, they came to their General, begging him *to lead them where he pleaſed, they having been ſufficiently puniſhed for their folly.*

When *Domitius* had prepared himſelf, and drawn up his army in order of battle againſt *Pompey*, there happened to be a deep channel betwixt them, which was craggy, and difficult to paſs over; this, together with a great ſtorm of wind and rain which began in the morning and continued the reſt of the day, ſeemed to ſhow but little probability of their coming to an engagement. *Domitius* therefore commanded his forces to draw off and retire to their camp. But *Pompey*, thinking this a favourable opportunity, ordered his men to march immediately; and having paſſed over the channel, they fell upon the enemy, who fought in a very confuſed tumultuous manner, they not being all collected together, nor ranged in order; beſides, the wind having veered about, beat the rain full in their faces. The ſtorm was alſo very troubleſome to the *Romans*, and hindered them from clearly diſcerning one another; ſo that even *Pompey* himſelf, being unknown, and being ſlow in his anſwer to one of his ſoldiers who aſked him the word, was in great danger of his life.

The enemy being routed with a great ſlaughter, (for it is ſaid, that of twenty thouſand there eſcaped but three thouſand) the army ſaluted *Pompey* by the title of *Imperator*; but he declined it, telling them, *That he could not by any means accept of that title, as long as the enemy's camp remained untouched; but if they deſigned to make him worthy the honour, that was firſt to be demoliſhed.* The ſoldiers hearing this, immediately aſſaulted the trenches; and there *Pompey* fought without his helmet, to avoid the danger to which he had been expoſed before. The camp was taken, and *Domitius* was ſlain upon the place. After that overthrow, *Pompey* made himſelf maſter of all the cities thereabouts, ſome being ſurrendered, and others taken by ſtorm. King *Hiarbas* likewiſe, a confede-

rate

rate and auxiliary of *Domitius*, was taken priſoner, and his kingdom given to *Hiempſal*.

Pompey being ambitious to improve the good fortune and valour of his army, invaded *Numidia*, and marching forward many days journey into the country, he conquered all where-ever he came, reſolving that by his means the *Roman* name, which began to be ſlighted among the barbarous nations, ſhould again appear as formidable as ever; nay, he ſaid, *That the wild beaſts of* Africa *ought not to be left without ſome experience of the courage and ſucceſs of the* Romans; and therefore he ſpent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. It is ſaid, that within the ſpace of forty days at moſt, he gave a total overthrow to the enemy, reduced *Africa*, and ſettled the affairs of the kings of all that country, though he was then but twenty-four years of age.

When *Pompey* returned to *Utica*, he received letters from *Sylla*, commanding him to diſband the reſt of his army, and with one legion only to wait there till another General came to ſucceed him. This was extremely mortifying to *Pompey*, though he did not ſuffer his diſcontent to appear; but the army reſented it openly, and when *Pompey* beſought them to depart home before him, they began to revile *Sylla*, and ſaid, *That they were reſolved not to forſake him, neither did they think it ſafe for him to truſt the tyrant.* Notwithſtanding this, *Pompey* endeavoured to appeaſe and pacify them; but when he ſaw that all his perſuaſions were vain, he left the tribunal, and retired to his tent with tears in his eyes; but the ſoldiers followed him, and ſeizing upon him, by force brought him back to the tribunal; where great part of that day was ſpent in diſpute, they perſuading him to ſtay and command them, and he on the other ſide preſſing them to be obedient and not to raiſe a mutiny. But at laſt, when they grew more importunate and clamorous, he ſwore, *That he would kill himſelf if they attempted to force him*; and yet even this would

would ſcarcely appeaſe them. The firſt news that *Sylla* received was that *Pompey* had revolted; upon which he ſaid to ſome of his friends, *I ſee then it is my deſtiny to contend with children in my old age:* for *Marius* when very young had greatly embaraſſed him, and brought him into extreme danger. But *Sylla* being undeceived afterwards by a better intelligence, and finding that the whole city had deſigned to meet *Pompey*, and receive him with the greateſt kindneſs and reſpect, he himſelf endeavoured to exceed them all in civility, and therefore going out foremoſt to meet him, and embracing him with great eagerneſs, he ſaluted him aloud with the title of *Pompey the Great*, and commanded all thoſe that were preſent to call him by that name. Others ſay, that he had this title firſt given him by a general acclamation of the army in *Africa*, but that it was confirmed and ratified by *Sylla*. It is certain however, that he himſelf was the laſt that owned the title; for it was a long time after, when he was ſent Proconſul into *Spain* againſt *Sertorius*, that he began to ſubſcribe himſelf in his letters and commiſſions by the name of *Pompey the Great*; for then the invidiouſneſs of the title was worn off by its being common and familiar. Hence the wiſdom of the ancient *Romans* may be juſtly reverenced and admired; for they not only rewarded martial courage and ſucceſs in war with ſuch honourable titles, but adorned likewiſe the virtues and ſervices of eminent men in the civil government with the ſame diſtinctions and characters of honour; accordingly the people gave the names of *Maximus*, *i. e. Greateſt*, to two perſons, to (6) *Valerius*, for having reconciled the ſenate to the people when they were at variance, and to (7) *Fabius Rullus*, for having expelled from

(6) This was *Marcus Valerius*, the brother of *Valerius Poplicola*, who was Dictator. This happened in the year of *Rome* 260, four hundred and twelve years before *Pompey*'s ſervices in *Africa*.

(7) This honour was not beſtowed on *Fabius Rullus* for the reaſon here aſſigned. See Vol. II. p. 54. n. 4.

(8) This

from the ſenate ſome ſons of enfranchiſed ſlaves, who had been elected into it on account of their riches.

Pompey upon his return to *Rome* deſired the honour of a triumph, which *Sylla* oppoſed, alledging, *That the law allowed that honour to none but conſuls and prætors* (8); *that therefore* Scipio *the elder, who ſubdued the* Carthaginians *in* Spain *in far greater and nobler conflicts, never petitioned for a triumph, becauſe he was neither Conſul nor Prætor; and that if* Pompey, *whoſe beard was hardly grown, and who was not yet of age to be a ſenator, ſhould enter the city in triumph, ſuch an honour would both expoſe him to envy and render* Sylla's *government odious.* Theſe were the arguments *Sylla* uſed againſt *Pompey*, at the ſame time declaring that he would not ſuffer him to triumph, but that if he ſtill perſiſted in his pretenſions, he would forcibly reſtrain his obſtinacy and ambition. *Pompey* was not at all terrified, but bid *Sylla* conſider *that more worſhipped the riſing than the ſetting ſun*; intimating that his power was encreaſing, and *Sylla*'s on the decline. *Sylla* did not perfectly hear the words; but obſerving a ſort of amazement and wonder in the looks and geſtures of thoſe that did hear them, he aſked what it was he ſaid: when it was told him, he was very much ſurprized at the boldneſs of *Pompey*, and cried out twice together, *Let him triumph, let him triumph.* But when others began to ſhow their reſentment and diſdain, *Pompey*, as it is ſaid, to mortify them the more, deſigned to have his chariot drawn by four elephants, having brought over ſeveral which he had taken from the *African* kings; but the gates of the city being too narrow, he was forced to deſiſt from that project, and make uſe of horſes. Some of his ſoldiers, who had failed of ſome reward which they expected,

(8) This is what *Livy* tells us in expreſs terms, *Lib.* xxxi. ſpeaking of *L. Cornelius Lentulus. L. Cornelio Lentulo triumphus negatus eſt: res triumpho dignas eſſe cenſebat ſenatus, ſed exemplum a majoribus non accepiſſe, ut qui neque Dictator, neque Conſul, neque Prætor rem geſſiſſet, triumpharet.*

expected, began to clamour, and were diſpoſed to prevent the triumph; but *Pompey* ſaid *that he regarded them not, and that he had rather loſe his triumph, than flatter them.* Upon this *Servilius*, a perſon of great quality, and at firſt one of the chiefeſt oppoſers of *Pompey*'s triumph, ſaid, *Now I perceive that* Pompey *is truly great, and worthy of a triumph.* It is not to be doubted that he might eaſily have been made a ſenator at that time if he would, yet he did not ſue for that, being ambitious of more unuſual honours. For it would not have been ſurprizing for *Pompey* to ſit in the ſenate before his time; but to triumph before he was of the ſenate, was an honour altogether unuſual and ſingular.

This triumph did not a little ingratiate him with the people; for they were extremely pleaſed to ſee him after his triumph take his place again among the *Roman* knights. But it was very ungrateful to *Sylla* to ſee how faſt he advanced in power and reputation; however he continued quiet, being aſhamed to oppoſe him. But when by force, and againſt *Sylla*'s will, *Pompey* procured the Conſulſhip for (9) *Lepidus*, having by his own intereſt brought him into favour with the people, *Sylla* ſeeing him after the election croſſing the *Forum* with a great train after him, ſaid to him, *I ſee, young man, you rejoice in your conqueſt; and ſurely it was a noble action to employ your intereſt with the people to nominate* Lepidus *to the Conſulſhip before* Catulus, *and to prefer the worſt to the beſt of men. But take care not to ſlumber; you muſt now exert your utmoſt vigilance and attention; for you have raiſed a dangerous enemy to greater power than yourſelf.* But that which gave the cleareſt demonſtration of *Sylla*'s diſlike to *Pompey*, was his laſt will; for though he had bequeathed ſeveral legacies to all the reſt of his friends, and appointed ſome of them guardians to his ſon, he took no notice of *Pompey*. However *Pompey* bore this with great

(9) *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who by *Pompey*'s intereſt was declared Conſul

great moderation; ſo that when *Lepidus* and others obſtructed his interment in the *Campus Martius*, and would not allow him to be buried publickly, he came and attended the funeral himſelf, and by his preſence gave it both honour and ſecurity.

Shortly after the death of *Sylla*, that prophetick ſpeech of his to *Pompey* concerning *Lepidus* was fulfilled. For *Lepidus* uſurped the authority that *Sylla* had, not in an indirect manner or on ſpecious pretences; but he immediately took up arms, having ſtirred up again, and called into his aſſiſtance the broken remains of *Marius*'s faction that had eſcaped the vengeance of *Sylla*. *Catulus* his collegue, who was followed by the beſt and moſt uncorrupt part of the ſenate and people, was a man the moſt eſteemed of any among the *Romans* for his temperance and juſtice; but his talents were rather political than military. As the exigency of affairs required therefore that *Pompey* ſhould interpoſe, he was not long in ſuſpence which party he ſhould follow, but joining with the nobility, was appointed General of the army againſt *Lepidus*, who had already over-run the greateſt part of *Italy*, and likewiſe taken poſſeſſion of *Gallia Ciſalpina* with an army under the conduct of *Brutus*. As for the reſt of his garriſons, *Pompey* ſubdued them with eaſe in his march, but *Mutina* in *Gaul* engaged him in a formal ſiege; and he lay a long time there encamped againſt *Brutus*. In the mean time *Lepidus* marched in all haſte againſt *Rome*, and ſitting down before it with a mixed rabble, which he had collected from all quarters, demanded a ſecond Conſulſhip, and ſtruck no ſmall terror into the beſieged. But their fear quickly vaniſhed, upon receiving ſome letters from *Pompey*, which informed them that he had ended the war without a battle. For *Brutus*, either betraying his army, or being betrayed by them, ſurrendered himſelf to *Pompey*, who ordered a party of horſe

(1) Conſul with *Q. Lutatius Catulus* in the year of *Rome* 675.

horſe to conduct him to a little town on the *Po*, where he was ſlain the next day by *Geminius*, whom *Pompey* ſent thither for that purpoſe. Upon this, *Pompey* was ſeverely cenſured; for having at firſt written to the ſenate, and informed them, that *Brutus* had voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf, he afterwards ſent other letters, containing matter of accuſation againſt the man, after he had put him to death. This *Brutus* was the father of him, who together with *Caſſius* ſlew *Cæſar*, and who neither in war, nor in his death, was like his father, as we have mentioned in his life. *Lepidus* upon this being driven out of *Italy*, fled to *Sardinia*, where he fell ſick and died of grief, not on account of theſe misfortunes, but as it is ſaid, becauſe he happened to meet with a letter which diſcovered to him his wife's infidelity.

During theſe tranſactions *Sertorius*, a commander very unlike to *Lepidus*, had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Spain*, and was grown formidable to the *Romans*; all the remains of the preceding civil wars being collected in him, juſt as vicious humours in a dangerous diſeaſe, flow all together to one diſtempered part. This man had already deſtroyed ſeveral inferior commanders, and was now engaged with *Metellus Pius*, a General of great merit and reputation, though perhaps he might now ſeem too ſlow by reaſon of his age, to improve the happier moments of war, and might ſometimes loſe the advantages he had, as *Sertorius* by his quickneſs and activity was continually ready to wreſt them out of his hands: for he was always hovering about, and coming upon him unawares, like a Captain of thieves rather than ſoldiers, and harraſſing him perpetually with ambuſcades, and light ſkirmiſhes; whereas *Metellus* was accuſtomed to nothing but regular conduct, and to fighting in battle array with his legionary ſoldiers. *Pompey* therefore having his army in readineſs, uſed all his intereſt that he might be ſent to the aſſiſtance of *Metellus*; neither would he diſband his forces, notwithſtanding *Catulus* had commanded

manded it, but upon ſome pretence or other he ſtill kept them in arms about the city, till the ſenate at laſt thought fit to decree him that government. *Lucius Philippus* was the firſt that moved it in the ſenate, where they ſay one of the ſenators being ſurprized at the motion, demanded of *Philip* whether his meaning was, *That* Pompey *ſhould be ſent into* Spain Pro Conſule, [i. e. *as a Conſul's deputy*] *No*, replied *Philip*, *but* Pro Conſulibus, [i. e. *as the deputy of both conſuls*] intimating, that the Conſuls for that year were men of no merit or capacity. When *Pompey* was arrived in *Spain*, men began to entertain new hopes, (for the fame of a new General commonly produces this effect) and thoſe nations that had not entered into a very ſtrict league with *Sertorius*, began to waver and revolt. Upon this *Sertorius* ſpoke in a very arrogant and ſcornful manner of *Pompey*, ſaying in deriſion, *That he ſhould want no other weapon but a ferula and rod to chaſtiſe this boy with, if he were not afraid of that old woman*, meaning *Metellus*. But notwithſtanding this he was in reality afraid of *Pompey*, and was obſerved ever after to ſtand better upon his guard, and to act more warily than before. For *Metellus* (which one would not have imagined) was grown very debauched in his life, having given himſelf up to pleaſure, and changed on a ſudden his former moderation and temperance for luxury, prodigality and pride. So that *Pompey* was upon this account the more loved and eſteemed for contracting his expences and giving an example of frugality, although that virtue was habitual to him, and required no great labour to exerciſe it, for he was naturally inclined to temperance, and was moderate in his deſires.

The ſucceſs of this war was various; but that which gave the greateſt concern to *Pompey* was the taking of the city of *Lauron* by *Sertorius*. For when *Pompey* thought he had encloſed him, and had boaſted greatly of raiſing the ſiege, he found himſelf encom-

paſſed on a ſudden; ſo that he durſt not move out of his camp, but was forced to ſit ſtill, and ſee the city burnt before his face. However in an engagement near *Valentia* he defeated *Herennius* and *Perpenna*, two experienced commanders, who had joined *Sertorius*, and ſerved as lieutenants under him, and ſlew above ten thouſand of their men. *Pompey* being elated with this victory, made haſte to engage *Sertorius* himſelf, and the rather leſt *Metellus* ſhould come in for a ſhare in the honour of the victory: ſo that in the evening towards ſunſet, they joined battle near the river *Sucron*, both wiſhing *Metellus* not to come, *Pompey*, that he might engage in the combat alone, *Sertorius*, that he might engage but with *Pompey* alone. The iſſue of the battle was doubtful, for one wing on each ſide was victorious; but of the generals, *Sertorius* had the greater honour, for he defeated thoſe who were oppoſed to him. As to *Pompey*, he was attacked on horſeback by one of the enemy's infantry, a man of extraordinary ſtature; as they were cloſely engaged, the ſtrokes of their ſwords chanced to light upon each other's hand, but with different ſucceſs; for *Pompey* only received a ſlight wound, whereas he lopt off the other's hand: however, *Pompey* being attacked by a great number of the enemy at once, and his own forces there being put to the rout, made his eſcape beyond expectation, by quitting his horſe, and turning him among the enemy; for as the horſe had golden trappings, and other ornaments of great value, the ſoldiers quarrelled among themſelves for the booty, ſo that while they were fighting with one another, and dividing the ſpoil, *Pompey* made his eſcape. By break of day the next morning each drew out his forces into the field to confirm the victory, to which each of them laid claim; but *Metellus* coming up, *Sertorius* and his whole army vaniſhed on a ſudden. For in ſuch a manner did he uſe to raiſe and diſband his forces; ſo that ſometimes he would be wandering up and down all alone, and quickly after would ap-

pear at the head of an army conſiſting of a hundred and fifty thouſand men, who came pouring into the field like a torrent ſuddenly ſwelled by a violent ſhower of rain.

After the battle, *Pompey* went to receive and welcome *Metellus*, and when he came near him, he commanded his lictors to lower their rods in honour of *Metellus* as his ſuperior officer; but *Metellus* on the other ſide forbad it, and behaved to him in every reſpect with great civility, not claiming any prerogative either on account of his conſular dignity or his ſeniority; excepting only that when they encamped together, the watch-word was given to the whole camp by *Metellus*. But generally they encamped ſeparately, being divided and diſtracted by the art and addreſs of the enemy, who being always in motion, would appear in different places almoſt in the ſame inſtant, drawing them from one ſkirmiſh to another. At laſt by cutting off their proviſions, by waſting the country, and making himſelf maſter of the ſea, he drove them both out of that part of *Spain* which was committed to their care, and forced them for want of neceſſaries to retreat into the provinces of others.

Pompey having expended the greateſt part of his own eſtate upon the war, ſent to the ſenate, and demanded money of them, adding, that if they did not furniſh him ſpeedily, he ſhould be forced to return into *Italy* with his army. *Lucullus* was Conſul at that time; and though he was an enemy to *Pompey*, yet as he was ſoliciting for the command in the war againſt *Mithridates*, he procured and haſtened the ſupplies, fearing leſt there ſhould be any pretence given to *Pompey* for returning home, who himſelf was deſirous to leave *Sertorius*, and to undertake the war againſt *Mithridates*, eſteeming that enterprize more honourable and leſs difficult. In the mean time *Sertorius* died, being treacherouſly murdered by ſome of his own party. *Perpenna*, who was chief of them, undertook to ſupply his place, having indeed the ſame

forces, and the ſame warlike ſtores and proviſions, but not the ſame ſkill to uſe them. *Pompey* therefore marched directly againſt *Perpenna*, and finding him ignorant and perplexed in his affairs, laid a ſnare for him by ſending out a detachment of ten cohorts with orders to range up and down the fields, and diſperſe themſelves abroad; and while *Perpenna* was employed in attacking and purſuing them, *Pompey* appeared ſuddenly with all his army, and joining battle, gave him a total overthrow; ſo that moſt of his commanders were ſlain in the field, and he himſelf being brought priſoner to *Pompey*, was by his order put to death. Nor ſhould we on this account, as ſome have done, cenſure *Pompey* as being ungrateful and as forgetting his tranſactions with *Perpenna* in *Sicily*; ſince it is clear that what he did in this caſe, was the effect of conſummate prudence, and of his attention to the ſafety of his country. For *Perpenna* having in his cuſtody all *Sertorius*'s papers, ſhowed ſeveral letters from the greateſt men in *Rome*, who intending to ſubvert the government, had invited *Sertorius* into *Italy*; wherefore *Pompey* fearing leſt by theſe he ſhould kindle a more terrible war than that which had been already extinguiſhed, thought it expedient both to put *Perpenna* to death, and likewiſe to burn the letters without reading them.

After this *Pompey* ſpent ſo much time in *Spain*, as was neceſſary for ſuppreſſing the tumults in that province; and as ſoon as he had allayed the violent heats and ſettled the affairs there, he returned with his army into *Italy*, where he arrived juſt in the height of the ſervile war. Upon the approach of *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, who was General in that war, made all the expedition imaginable to give them battle, wherein he ſhowed more ambition than prudence; however

(1) Nobody doubted but that was his deſign, which made *Cicero* tell *Atticus* in *Epiſt.* vii. *lib.* 9. *Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noſter Syllani regni ſimilitudinem concupivit.* εἰδώς σοι λέγω, *nihil ille unquam minus obſcurè tulit.* 'Our friend *Pompey* is wonder-
'fully

however the event anſwered his wiſhes, for he ſlew upon the ſpot twelve thouſand three hundred of the enemy. And yet, notwithſtanding all his foreſight and diligence, it was ordained by fortune that *Pompey* ſhould ſhare with him in the glory of the ſucceſs; for five thouſand of them who had eſcaped out of the battle fell into his hands; wherefore when he had totally deſtroyed them, that he might be beforehand with *Craſſus*, he wrote to the ſenate, *That* Craſſus *indeed had overthrown the gladiators in battle, but that he had plucked up the war itſelf by the roots.* This the *Romans* heard and ſpoke of with pleaſure, from their affection to *Pompey*, which was ſo great, that of all the exploits in *Spain* againſt *Sertorius*, they would not ſuffer one, even in jeſt, to be aſcribed to any perſon but *Pompey*. And yet this great honour and veneration was accompanied with fears and jealouſies, that he would not diſband his ſoldiers, but treading in *Sylla*'s ſteps would uſurp the ſovereign power, and maintain himſelf in it by force of arms (1); ſo that among all thoſe who ran out to meet him and congratulate him upon his return, as many went out of fear as affection. *Pompey* however removed this ſuſpicion, by declaring beforehand, that he would diſcharge the army after his triumph. But thoſe that envied him ſtill complained that he affected popularity, and courted the common people more than the nobility, and that whereas *Sylla* had deſtroyed the power and authority of the people, he deſigned to gratify them by reſtoring it; which was very true, for there was not any thing that the people of *Rome* more paſſionately deſired than the reſtoration of the tribunitial power. *Pompey* therefore thought himſelf extremely fortunate in this opportunity, deſpairing (if he were prevented in this) of ever meeting with any other ſuch occaſion

(1) 'fully deſirous to obtain a power 'like that of *Sylla*. I tell you 'no more than what I certainly 'know; he makes no ſecret of 'it.' And *Epiſt.* x. *lib.* 9. *Hoc turpe Cneius noſter biennio ante cogitavit, ita Syllaturit animus ejus, & proſcripturit.* 'Pompey has 'been

occaſion of expreſſing his gratitude for all thoſe favours which he had received from the people. But though (2) a ſecond triumph was decreed him, and he was declared Conſul, yet all theſe honours were not ſo ſtrong an evidence of his power and greatneſs, as the aſcendant which he had over *Craſſus*: for he who in wealth, dignity, and eloquence, ſurpaſſed all the ſtateſmen of his time, and who deſpiſed even *Pompey* himſelf and all others as beneath him, durſt not appear a candidate for the Conſulſhip before he had demanded *Pompey*'s leave and protection. *Pompey* very readily eſpouſed his intereſt, for he had a long time ſought an occaſion of obliging him, and of contracting a friendſhip with him; ſo that he earneſtly ſolicited for *Craſſus*, and entreated the people, declaring, *That their favour would be no leſs to him in chuſing* Craſſus *his collegue, than in making himſelf Conſul.* But notwithſtanding this, when they were created Conſuls they were always at variance, and continually oppoſed each other. *Craſſus* prevailed moſt in the ſenate, and *Pompey*'s power was no leſs with the people; for he reſtored to them the office of tribune, and had ſuffered the judicial power (3) again to be transferred to the knights by a law. But he himſelf afforded them the moſt grateful ſpectacle, when he appeared and craved his diſcharge from war. For it was a cuſtom among the *Romans*, that the knights when they had ſerved out their legal time in the wars, ſhould lead their horſes into the *Forum* before the two cenſors, and having named the commanders and generals under whom they had ſerved, and given an account of their behaviour during their ſervice, ſhould be diſcharged, every man with honour or diſgrace according

' been forming this ſhameful
' deſign for theſe two years
' paſt, ſo ſtrongly has his mind
' been bent upon imitating *Sylla*,
' and proſcribing like him.'

(2) He triumphed towards the end of the year of *Rome* 682, and at the ſame time was declared Conſul for the year enſuing. This was a peculiar honour, to be declared Conſul before he had born any other office

in

according to his deſerts. The two cenſors, *Gellius* and *Catulus*, were ſitting in great ſolemnity, and the knights were paſſing under examination before them, when *Pompey* was ſeen afar off coming into the *Forum*, with all the enſigns of conſular authority, but himſelf leading his horſe in his hand. As he drew near, he commanded his officers to make way, and then led his horſe to the tribunal; the people were all this while in amazement, and in profound ſilence, and the cenſors ſhowed him great reſpect, and at the ſame time ſeemed highly pleaſed with his behaviour. Then the ſenior Cenſor addreſſed him thus, Pompey *the Great, I demand of thee, whether thou haſt ſerved out all that time in the wars that is preſcribed by the law?* *Pompey* replied with a loud voice, *I have ſerved it all, and all under myſelf as General*; at this the people gave a great ſhout, and were ſo tranſported with joy, that there was no ſilencing their exclamations. But the cenſors riſing from their tribunal, accompanied him home to gratify the multitude, who followed after clapping their hands, and ſhouting with great joy.

Pompey's Conſulſhip being now expiring, and the miſunderſtanding betwixt him and *Craſſus* increaſing every day, one *Caius Aurelius* of the equeſtrian order, a man who had always declined publick buſineſs, aſcended the *Roſtrum*, and addreſſed himſelf to the people in a full aſſembly, declaring, that *Jupiter* had appeared to him in a dream, commanding him to tell the Conſuls, *That they ſhould not quit their office till they were reconciled.* *Pompey* upon hearing this ſtood ſilent; but *Craſſus* firſt giving him his hand and ſaluting him, ſpoke in this manner, *I cannot think*, O Romans, *that I do any thing mean or diſhonourable, in yielding firſt to* Pompey, *whom you were pleaſed to ſurname the* Great *even*

in the government; but his two triumphs might well ſerve to excuſe that ſingularity.

(3) *L. Aurelius Cotta* carried that law when he was Prætor, and *Plutarch* ſays *again*, becauſe *Caius Gracchus* had conveyed that right to the knights fifty years before.

(4) The

even while he was a beardleſs youth, and to whom you granted two triumphs before he had a place in the ſenate. Upon this they were reconciled, and laid down their office. *Craſſus* kept to his former manner of life; but *Pompey* pleaded cauſes very ſeldom, and by degrees quitted the *Forum*; he rarely appeared in publick, and whenever he did, it was with a great train accompanying him; neither was it eaſy to meet or viſit him but in the midſt of a croud of attendants; for his delight was to appear guarded with a numerous retinue, by which he attracted reſpect and veneration, and preſerved his dignity from being ſullied by the company and converſation of the multitude. For men who have grown great by arms, cannot eaſily ſtoop to that popular equality which always prevails in a commonwealth, and therefore are in danger of ſinking into contempt when they change their manner of life; for they naturally expect to be eſteemed as much ſuperior to others in the city, as they were in the field; whereas thoſe who have not diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the camp, cannot endure to be inferior in the city too; and therefore when they ſee a commander who is ſignalized by his victories and triumphs, applying himſelf to the buſineſs of the *Forum*, they endeavour to leſſen and depreſs him; whereas if he reſigns to them the pre-eminence in civil buſineſs, they will contentedly allow him to enjoy the glory of his military exploits. This appeared not long after by the event.

The power of the pirates firſt appeared in *Cilicia*. They were at firſt little taken notice of (4); but their courage and confidence much increaſed during the war with *Mithridates*, when they hired themſelves out,

(4) The *Romans* did not apply in earneſt to that war till the year of *Rome* 674, nine years before this Conſulſhip of *Pompey*, though it had been the occaſion of many diſorders, which they were not at leiſure to remedy whilſt they had other wars both civil and foreign upon their hands. *Vid. Flor. lib.* iii. *cap.* 6.

(5) There was in the territo-

ries

out, and became ſtipendiaries in the King's ſervice. Afterwards, whilſt the *Romans* were embroiled in their civil wars, and were fighting againſt one another even before the very gates of *Rome*, the ſeas lay neglected and unguarded, which by degrees encouraged them not only to attack the merchants and ſhips upon the ſea, but alſo to lay waſte the iſlands and ſeaport towns. Many perſons of great wealth and noble birth, and diſtinguiſhed for their capacity, embarked with them and entered into their ſociety, as if their employment had been in the higheſt degree honourable and worthy of their ambition. They had divers arſenals and harbours, and watch-towers well fortified. They had a fleet well equipped, and well manned with ſtout ſailors and expert pilots; their ſhips were very light and ſwift, and well built for ſervice; but their magnificence was ſtill more mortifying than their force was terrible; for the ſterns of their ſhips were gilt, their canopies were of the fineſt purple, and their oars were covered with ſilver; with ſuch wanton pride and luxury did they ſeem to triumph in their villany. Their muſick and dancing, their banquetting and revelling on every coaſt, the great officers who were made priſoners by them, and the towns which they laid under contribution, were the reproach and diſhonour of the *Roman* empire. Their fleet conſiſted of above a thouſand ſhips, and they had taken no leſs than four hundred cities, and plundered thoſe temples which till then had been held ſacred and inviolable, ſuch as thoſe of *Apollo* at *Didyme* (5) and *Claros*, that of the *Cabiri* in *Samothracia*, of *Ceres* in the city of *Hermione* (6), of *Æſculapius* in *Epidaurus*, thoſe of *Neptune* in the *Iſthmus*,

ries of *Miletus*, a place called *Didyme*, where *Apollo* had a temple and Oracle, and was from thence called *Didymæus Apollo*. *Pauſanias* tells us that this temple was more ancient than the *Ionick* migration. *Claros* was alſo a town in *Ionia* where there was a mountain and a grove ſacred to *Apollo*.

(6) Some tranſlators have rendered this by *the temple of* Tellus,

mus, at *Tænarus*, and in the iſle of *Calauria*, thoſe of *Apollo* at *Actium*, and in the iſle of *Leucas*, and thoſe of *Juno* at *Samos*, *Argos*, and the promontory of *Lacinium*. They likewiſe offered ſtrange ſacrifices, ſuch as are performed at (7) *Olympus*, and practiſed certain myſterious ceremonies, among which thoſe of (8) *Mithres* have been preſerved down to our age, having their original and firſt inſtitution from them. But beſide theſe piracies by ſea, they were yet more injurious to the *Romans* by land; for they would often go aſhore and rob upon the highways; plundering and deſtroying their country-houſes near the ſea: and once they ſeized upon two *Roman* prætors, *Sextilius* and *Bellinus*, in their purple robes, and carried them off, together with their lictors. The daughter alſo of *Antonius* (a man who had received the honour of a triumph) was ſeized as ſhe was going to her country-ſeat, and was obliged to pay a great ſum for her ranſom. Nay their inſolence roſe to ſuch a pitch, that when any one of the captives declared himſelf to be a *Roman* and told his name, they pretended to be ſurprized and terrified, ſmote their thighs, and fell down at his feet, beſeeching him to forgive them. The credulous captive ſeeing them ſo humble and ſup-

Tellus, *or the earth*; though there never was any ſuch temple in the city of *Hermione*, but there was a very famous one there dedicated to *Ceres*. Χθονία in this place ſignifies *Ceres*, which may be proved from a paſſage in *Pauſanias's Corinthiacks*; *The* Argives *ſay that* Chthonia *the daughter of* Colontas *having been ſaved out of a conflagration by* Ceres, *and conveyed to* Hermione, *built there a temple to that Goddeſs, who was called* Chthonia, *and that her feſtival was called by the ſame name.* And in his *Laconicks* he writes: *It is ſaid that the* Lacedæmonians *adore* Ceres *under the name of* Chthonia, *and that they were inſtructed in her rites by* Orpheus. *But I am of opinion that the* Lacedæmonians *borrowed thoſe ceremonies from the city of* Hermione, *where* Ceres *had a temple dedicated to her under that name.*

(7) *Plutarch* does not mean mount *Olympus*, but the city of *Olympus* near *Phaſelis* in *Pamphylia*, which was one of the receptacles of thoſe pirates. What ſort of ſacrifices they uſed to perform there is not known.

(8) *Herodotus* ſays that the *Perſians* adored *Venus* under the name

ſuppliant, believed them to be in earneſt, for ſome were ſo officious as to put on his ſhoes, others helped him on with his gown, leſt his quality ſhould be miſtaken again. At laſt when they had mocked him long enough, they let down a ladder from the ſide of the ſhip into the ſea, bid him depart, and wiſhed him a good journey home; if he refuſed, they threw him overboard, and drowned him.

The whole *Tuſcan* ſea was ſo infeſted by theſe pirates that navigation and commerce was entirely ſtopped. The *Romans* therefore finding themſelves ſtraitned in their markets, and fearing leſt a famine ſhould enſue, determined to ſend out *Pompey* to recover the dominion of the ſea from the pirates. And (9) *Gabinius* one of *Pompey*'s friends propoſed a law which inveſted him not only with the ſupreme command of the fleet, but with an univerſal and unlimited power. For by that decree his authority was to extend over all the ſeas within the *Pillars* of *Hercules*, and over the whole continent for the ſpace of four hundred furlongs from the ſea; and there were but few regions under the *Roman* empire which were out of that compaſs, and all the moſt conſiderable nations and kings were included in it. Beſides, by this decree he had a power of

name of *Mithres*; but the moſt common opinion is, that *Mithres* was the ſun.

(9) He was then tribune of the people in the year of *Rome* ſix hundred eighty-ſix, ſixty-five years before the birth of our Saviour, *Pompey* being then thirty-eight years old. *Cicero* has given us the character of this *Gabinius* in the ſecond oration after his return, where he repreſents him in the following odious colours. *Qui niſi ad aram tribunatus confugiſſet, neque vim prætoris, nec multitudinem creditorum, nec honorum proſcriptionem, effugere potuiſſet. Quo in magiſtratu, niſi rogationem de piratico bello tuliſſet, profecto egeſtate & improbitate coactus piraticam ipſe feciſſet. If he had not taken ſanctuary in his office of tribune, and fled thither as to an inviolable altar, he would never have eſcaped the authority of the Prætor, nor the number of his creditors, nor have prevented the confiſcation of his eſtate; and if in that office he had not carried the law for the war againſt the pirates, his poverty and iniquity together would have made him turn pirate himſelf.*

(1) Some

of electing, for his aſſiſtance, fifteen lieutenants out of the ſenate, and of aſſigning particular provinces to each; he was authorized alſo to take out of the treaſury, and of the publicans, what mony he pleaſed, to fit out a fleet of two hundred ſhips, and to raiſe as many ſoldiers and ſeamen as he thought proper. When this law was read, the common people approved of it exceedingly; but the moſt conſiderable men of the ſenate looked upon this exorbitant and unbounded power as too great to be envied and as a real object of fear. They all agreed therefore to oppoſe the paſſing of the law except *Cæſar*, who gave his vote for it, not ſo much to gratify *Pompey* as the people, with whom he was deſirous to ingratiate himſelf as early as poſſible. The reſt inveighed bitterly againſt *Pompey*; and one of the Conſuls told him, *That if he followed the footſteps of* Romulus, *he would ſcarce avoid his end*; but he was in danger of being torn in pieces by the multitude for this ſpeech. Yet when *Catulus* ſtood up to ſpeak againſt the law, the people in reverence to him were very ſilent and attentive. He therefore, after he had, without the leaſt appearance of envy, ſpoken largely in honour of *Pompey*, began to adviſe the people in kindneſs to ſpare him, and not to expoſe a man of his importance to ſuch continual dangers and wars; *for*, ſaid he, *Where could you find ſuch another? Or whom would you chuſe if you ſhould loſe him?* They all cried out with one voice, *Yourſelf*. *Catulus* therefore finding his arguments ineffectual, deſiſted. Then *Roſcius* attempted to ſpeak, but no one would liſten to him; wherefore he made ſigns with his fingers, intimating that *Pompey* ſhould not have the ſole command, but that a collegue ſhould be named in the decree with him: upon this, the multitude being extremely incenſed, made ſuch a violent exclamation, that a crow flying over the *Forum* at that inſtant, was ſtunned, and dropt down among the croud; from which it appears, that when birds fall to the ground on ſuch occaſions, it is not

as

becauſe the air is ſo broken and divided by the ſhock as to leave a total vacuity, but becauſe they are ſtruck down as with a blow, by the violent agitation which ſo loud a ſound produces in the air.

The aſſembly broke up that day, without coming to any reſolution. When the day came for the people to give their ſuffrages, *Pompey* went privately into the country; but hearing that the law was paſſed, he returned again into the city by night, to avoid the envy that might ariſe from that concourſe of people who would otherwiſe have gone to meet and congratulate him. The next morning he came abroad and ſacrificed to the Gods, and having called an aſſembly, he prevailed on the people to grant him many things beſide what were already granted, and almoſt to double the preparations appointed in the former decree: for five hundred ſhips, and an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, were allowed him; there were choſen likewiſe for his lieutenants, twenty-four ſenators, who had been prætors, or generals of armies, and to theſe were added two quæſtors. It happened within this time that the price of proviſions was much abated, which gave an occaſion to the people to ſay in their joy, *That the very name of* Pompey *had already ended the war*. However *Pompey* in purſuance of his charge divided the whole *Mediterranean* into thirteen parts, allotting a fleet to each under the command of one of his lieutenants; and having thus diſperſed his forces into all quarters, and as it were encloſed the pirates in his nets, he took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. As for thoſe who withdrew themſelves betimes, and eſcaped his purſuit, they all retired to *Cilicia*, where they hid themſelves as in a hive. *Pompey* deſigned to purſue them thither with ſixty of his beſt ſhips; but firſt he reſolved to deſtroy thoſe who remained nearer home, in the *Tuſcan* ſea, or on the coaſts of *Africa*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and *Sicily*; and this he performed in the ſpace of forty days

by his own indefatigable induſtry, and the diligence of his lieutenants.

Pompey having met with ſome obſtruction at *Rome*, through the reſentment and envy of *Piſo* the Conſul, who had waſted his ſtores and diſcharged his ſeamen, ſent his fleet round to *Brunduſium*, and went himſelf by land through *Tuſcany* to *Rome*. As ſoon as this was known to the people, they all flocked out to meet him upon the way, though but a few days had paſſed ſince they attended him at his departure. But that which occaſioned their greateſt joy, was the ſudden and unexpected change in the markets, which now were plentifully furniſhed with proviſions; ſo that *Piſo* was in great danger of being deprived of his Conſulſhip, *Gabinius* having a law ready drawn up for that purpoſe; but *Pompey* forbad it, behaving in that, as in all things elſe, with great moderation, by which having obtained all that he deſired, he departed for *Brunduſium*, whence he ſet ſail in purſuit of the pirates. Though he was ſtraitened in time, and his haſty voyage forced him to ſail by ſeveral famous cities without ſtopping, yet he would not paſs by the city of *Athens*. Having landed there he ſacrificed to the Gods, and made an oration to the people; and as he was returning out of the city, he read at the gates two inſcriptions in honour of him, each conſiſting of a ſingle verſe. That within the gate was this;

Thy humbler thoughts make thee a God the more.

The other without the gate was,

We wiſh'd and ſaw, we honour and adore.

Pompey having ſhown himſelf merciful to ſome of that ſwarm of thieves, who were not yet quite diſperſed, but continued to rove about the ſeas, (for he had

had upon their ſupplication ordered a ſeizure of their ſhips and perſons only, without any further ſeverity, the reſt of their comrades, in hopes of mercy too, made their eſcape from his other commanders, and ſurrendered themſelves with their wives and children to him. *Pompey* pardoned all that came in, and the rather becauſe by them he might make a diſcovery of thoſe who fled from his juſtice, as conſcious that their crimes were beyond forgiveneſs. The greateſt part of theſe, and the moſt conſiderable men among them, conveyed their families and treaſures, and all uſeleſs perſons into caſtles and fortified towns about mount *Taurus*; but they themſelves having well manned their gallies, embarked at *Coraceſium* in *Cilicia*, where they waited for *Pompey* and gave him battle. Here they had a total overthrow, upon which they retired into the fort, and *Pompey* immediately beſieged them. At laſt, having diſpatched their heralds to him with a ſubmiſſion, they delivered up to him themſelves, their towns, iſlands, and ſtrong holds, all which they had fortified in ſuch a manner as to render them almoſt impregnable and inacceſſible.

Thus was this war ended, and the whole power of the pirates at ſea diſſolved every where in the ſpace of three months. Beſide a great number of other veſſels, *Pompey* took ninety ſhips armed with brazen beaks. He likewiſe took above twenty thouſand priſoners, whom he was unwilling to put to death, though he thought it dangerous to ſuffer them to diſperſe, leſt they might reunite and make head again, as they were numerous, poor, and warlike. Therefore conſidering that man by nature is not a wild ſavage creature, but becomes ſuch only by an unnatural and vicious habit, and that he is reclaimed and civilized by a change of place, converſation and manner of life, as beaſts that are wild by nature become tame and tractable by being kept and fed in a mild domeſtick manner, he determined to remove theſe

pirates from the ſea to the land, and to give them a taſte of an innocent and humane courſe of life, by ſettling them in cities, and accuſtoming them to agriculture. Some therefore were placed in the ſmall and unpeopled towns of the *Cilicians*, mixing and incorporating with the few inhabitants there, who on account of this addition to their number, obtained an enlargement of their territories. Others he fixed in the city of the *Solians*, which he repaired, it having been lately ruined and depopulated by *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*. He alſo ſent a great number to *Dyme*, a city of *Achaia*, which was very thin of inhabitants though it had a large and fruitful territory. This conduct, however, was cenſured by thoſe who envied and hated him; but his behaviour to *Metellus* in *Crete*, was diſapproved even by his beſt friends. For *Metellus*, (a relation of him who had been collegue with *Pompey* in *Spain*) was ſent Prætor into *Crete* ſome time before the command in this war was given to *Pompey*. *Crete* was the chief nurſery of theſe pirates next to *Cilicia*; and *Metellus* having apprehended many of them there, put them to death. Thoſe who yet remained, and were beſieged, ſent to *Pompey*, and invited him into the iſland, alledging that it belonged to his province, as every part of it was within that diſtance from the ſea to which his juriſdiction extended. *Pompey* receiving their ſubmiſſion, wrote to *Metellus*, commanding him to deſiſt from the war; he alſo commanded the cities not to pay any obedience to *Metellus*, and ſent *Lucius Octavius* one of his lieutenants, to command in his ſtead. *Octavius* being arrived in *Crete*, entered the beſieged fortifications, and fought in defence of the pirates. This rendered *Pompey* not only odious but even ridiculous; for what could be more abſurd than out of envy to *Metellus* to lend his name and authority to ſuch impious and abandoned wretches, to be uſed as a kind of charm to protect them? For even *Achilles* is not thought to have acted the part of a wiſe man,

but rather of a giddy youth madly desirous of glory, when by signs he forbad the rest of the *Grecians* to strike at *Hector*;

And great Achilles, *lest some* Greek's *advance*
Should snatch the glory from his lifted lance,
Sign'd to his troops to yield the foe his way,
And leave untouch'd the honours of the day. Pope.

But *Pompey* outdid even *Achilles* on this occasion; for he fought to defend and preserve a common enemy, only that he might deprive a *Roman* Prætor, after all his labours, of the honour of a triumph. *Metellus* however would not desist from the attack, and when he had stormed the place he put all the pirates to death; after which he publickly reproached and disgraced *Octavius* before the whole camp, and then dismissed him.

When it was reported at *Rome* that the war with the pirates was at an end, and that *Pompey* being quite unemployed spent his time in visiting the different cities, *Manilius*, a tribune of the people, proposed a law, *That* Pompey *should have all the forces of* Lucullus, *and the provinces under his government, together with* Bithynia, *which was then under the command of* Glabrio; *and that he should make war upon* Mithridates *and* Tigranes, *retaining still the same naval forces and the sovereignty of the seas as before.* But this was nothing less than to constitute one absolute monarch of all the *Roman* empire; for the only provinces which seemed to be exempt from his government by the former decree, *Phrygia*, *Lycaonia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, the *Upper Colchis*, and *Armenia*, were all assigned to him by this latter law, together with all the forces with which *Lucullus* had defeated *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*. But though *Lucullus* was thus robbed of the glory of his atchievements, by having a successor assigned him rather in the honour of his triumph than in the danger of the war; yet this was

not what the ſenate and nobility chiefly conſidered, notwithſtanding they were very ſenſible that *Lucullus* had been unjuſtly and ungratefully treated. They were principally concerned to ſee a tyranny eſtabliſhed by this increaſe of *Pompey*'s power; and therefore they exhorted and encouraged one another privately to exert all their force in oppoſition to this law, and not to give up their liberties at once. But when the day came their courage failed them for fear of the people, and they all remained ſilent except *Catulus*, who boldly inveighed againſt the law. But finding that his ſpeech had no effect upon any of the people, he turned to the ſenate, and cried out ſeveral times from the *Roſtrum*, bidding them (1) *ſeek out ſome mountain or rock as their forefathers had done, whither they might fly to preſerve their liberty.* The law however, as it is ſaid, was paſſed by the ſuffrages of all the tribes. Thus was *Pompey* even in his abſence inveſted with almoſt all that power which *Sylla* obtained by arms, and by the conqueſt of the city. When *Pompey* had advice by letters of the decree, and his friends came to congratulate him, he frowned and ſtruck his thigh; and, as if he had been overcharged already, and weary of government, cried out, *What an endleſs ſucceſſion of labours! how much better for me would it be were I obſcure aud unknown! Muſt my life be ſpent in perpetual wars? Shall I never be out of the reach of envy, and live in a rural retirement with my wife?* But even his beſt friends could not endure ſuch groſs hypocriſy, well knowing that his joy was the greater as his natural ambition was now inflamed by his enmity to *Lucullus*. His real diſpoſition was ſoon diſcovered by his actions; for in the firſt place he ſent out his edicts into all quarters, commanding all the ſoldiers to reſort to him; then he ſummoned all the tributary kings

(1) Some think that this alludes to the retreat into the ſacred mount. But as that was a ſeceſſion of the *Plebeians*, and this ſpeech is addreſſed to the ſenate, others think that the alluſion

kings and princes; and in all places through which he paſſed, he altered every thing that had been done and eſtabliſhed by *Lucullus*; to ſome he remitted their fines and penalties, and others he deprived of their rewards. And after this manner did he act in all things, being zealous to ſhow to the admirers of *Lucullus* that all his power and authority was now at an end. But as *Lucullus* complained of theſe proceedings, and expoſtulated with him by his friends, it was agreed that they ſhould have a conference, and accordingly they met in the country of *Galatia*. As they were both great generals and had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their exploits and victories, they came in ſtate, attended with their lictors bearing their rods before them wreathed about with branches of laurel. *Lucullus* came through a country full of green and ſhady groves, but *Pompey*'s march was through large plains, which were dry and barren. *Pompey*'s laurels being therefore parched and withered, *Lucullus*'s lictors when they perceived it took ſome of their own laurels which were freſh gathered, and bound them about his rods. This was thought ſomewhat ominous, and looked as if *Pompey* came to take away the reward and honour of *Lucullus*'s victories. *Lucullus* indeed had the ſuperiority in reſpect of age and of his former conſulſhip; but the dignity of *Pompey* was the greater on account of his triumphs. Their converſation began with great kindneſs and civility, and with mutual complements and congratulations on the great actions they had performed and the victories they had obtained. But when they came to the chief ſubject of their conference, they obſerved no decency nor moderation, but reproached each other in the ſevereſt terms, *Pompey* upbraiding *Lucullus* with avarice, and *Lucullus* accuſing *Pompey* of ambition; ſo that their friends could hardly part them.

Lucullus

luſion is to the retreat into the *Capitol* (which was built on the *Tarpeian* rock) upon the approach of the *Gauls*.

(2) Between

Lucullus had made a diſtribution of conquered lands in *Galatia*, and had given other largeſſes to whom he pleaſed. But *Pompey* encamping not far diſtant from him, publickly forbad any man to pay obedience to *Lucullus*; he likewiſe inveigled away all his ſoldiers, except only ſixteen hundred, who were likely to be as unſerviceable to him, as they were ill-affected to *Lucullus*, being very inſolent and mutinous. *Pompey* beſides openly cenſured his conduct, and detracted from the glory of his actions, declaring that the battles of *Lucullus* were but imaginary, ſuch as are repreſented in pictures, or upon the ſtage with perſonated kings, whereas the difficult part was reſerved for him, to contend with real ſtrength and a well-diſciplined army, as *Mithridates* began now to be in earneſt, and had betaken himſelf to his ſhields, ſwords, and horſes. *Lucullus* in return ſaid that Pompey *came to fight with the image and ſhadow of war, and that as a daſtardly bird of prey attacks only bodies already ſlain, ſo he, according to his uſual cuſtom, was come to cruſh the feeble relicks of an expiring war; for thus he attributed to himſelf the conqueſts over* Sertorius, Lepidus, *and* Spartacus; *one of which was the work of* Craſſus, *another of* Catulus, *and the other of* Metellus: *and therefore it was no great wonder, that the glory of the* Pontick *and* Armenian *war ſhould be uſurped by a man, who by his ſubtle artifices could obtain for himſelf the honour of a triumph for diſperſing ſome fugitive ſlaves.*

After this *Lucullus* departed for *Rome*, and *Pompey* having placed his whole navy as a guard upon all the ſeas betwixt the province of *Phœnicia* and the *Boſphorus*, marched againſt *Mithridates*, who though he had ſtill an army left of thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, yet durſt not riſk a battle, but lay ſecurely encamped upon a ſtrong mountain, which however he forſook upon *Pompey*'s approach, as a place deſtitute of water. *Pompey* as ſoon as he arrived took poſſeſſion of it; and from the nature of

the

the plants that grew there, and from many gaps or chinks which he ſaw in the earth, conjecturing that ſuch a place could not be without ſprings, he ordered his men to ſink wells in different parts, whereby there was great plenty of water throughout all the camp in a little time; ſo that he wondered how it was poſſible for *Mithridates* to be ignorant of this, during all the time of his encampment there. After this *Pompey* purſued him to his next camp, where he ſhut him up by making a fortification about it. But he having endured a ſiege of forty-five days made his eſcape privately, and fled away with his beſt troops, having firſt killed all the ſick and unſerviceable perſons in his camp. *Pompey* followed him cloſe, and overtook him near the banks of the *Euphrates*, where he encamped very near him; but fearing leſt he ſhould paſs over the river and eſcape again, he drew up his army againſt him at midnight. It is ſaid that at that very time *Mithridates* had a dream which prognoſticated the misfortunes that were to befal him; for he ſeemed to be ſailing in the *Pontick* ſea with a proſperous gale, and juſt in view of the *Boſphorus*, and diſcourſing agreeably with his companions, as one overjoyed at finding himſelf in perfect ſecurity; but on a ſudden he ſeemed to be deſerted by all, and to be floating upon a little broken plank of the ſhip. Whilſt he was in this imaginary diſtreſs, ſome of his friends came to his tent, and awaked him with the news of *Pompey*'s approach. They were now obliged to fight for the camp itſelf; the officers therefore led out the men and drew them up in order of battle. *Pompey* perceiving how well they were prepared for defence, was unwilling to hazard an engagement in the dark, judging it more prudent to encompaſs them only at preſent, leſt they ſhould eſcape, and to give them battle the next day, as his men were far the better ſoldiers. But the oldeſt of his commanders were of another opinion, and by entreaties and remonſtrances prevailed upon him to begin the engagement immediately.

diately. Neither was the night totally dark; for the moon gave light enough to diſtinguiſh objects. But this rather deluded and miſled the King's army; for as the *Romans* had the moon behind them, and ſhe was very low, and juſt upon ſetting, the ſhadows projected a long way before their bodies, and reached almoſt to the enemy, who not exactly diſcerning the diſtance, but imagining them to be near at hand threw their darts at the ſhadows, without the leaſt execution upon any one of the *Romans*. They perceiving this, ran in upon them with a great ſhout; but the barbarians being confounded and unable to ſtand the charge, were put to flight with a great ſlaughter, ſo that above ten thouſand were ſlain upon the ſpot, and the camp itſelf was taken. As for *Mithridates*, he at the beginning of the onſet with a body of eight hundred horſe forced through all the *Roman* army and made his eſcape; but this party ſoon forſook him, and diſperſed, ſo that he was left with no more than three perſons in his retinue, among whom was his concubine *Hypſicratia*, a woman who always ſhowed a manly and daring ſpirit, for which reaſon the King called her *Hypſicrates*. She being attired and mounted like a *Perſian* horſeman, accompanied the King in all his flight, never being weary even in the longeſt journey, nor ever failing to attend him in perſon, and even to take care of his horſe, till they came to a caſtle called *Inora* (2), where the King had lodged his money, and other things of the greateſt value. Here *Mithridates* diſtributed the richeſt of his apparel among thoſe who reſorted to him in their flight; and to every one of his friends he gave a deadly poiſon, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy againſt their will. From thence he purſued his journey in order to take refuge with *Tigranes*

(2) Between the great and leſſer *Armenia*. *Strabo*, *Lib.* xii. ſays that *Mithridates* was ſo careful to ſecure thoſe parts, that he cauſed ſeventy-five caſtles or fortreſſes to be built thereabouts, wherein he depoſited all his treaſures; and he gives us the names

granes in *Armenia*; but that Prince was ſo far from receiving him, that he iſſued a proclamation againſt him, offering a reward of an hundred talents to any one that ſhould kill him. Whereupon he paſſed the head of the *Euphrates*, and directed his flight through the country of *Colchis*.

In the mean time *Pompey* advanced into *Armenia*, upon the invitation of young *Tigranes*, who had revolted from his father, and was come as far as the *Araxes* to meet *Pompey*. This river riſes near the head of the *Euphrates*, but bending its courſe towards the eaſt, falls into the *Caſpian* ſea. *Pompey* and *Tigranes* being joined, marched on together, receiving the homage of all the cities through which they paſſed. But *Tigranes* the father having been lately defeated by *Lucullus*, and hearing that *Pompey* was of a kind and humane diſpoſition, received a *Roman* garriſon into his capital, and taking along with him ſeveral of his friends and relations, went in perſon to ſurrender himſelf to *Pompey*. He came as far as the trenches on horſeback; but there he was met by two of *Pompey*'s lictors, who commanded him to alight and walk on foot, as no man ever was ſeen on horſeback within a *Roman* camp. *Tigranes* ſubmitted to this immediately, and at the ſame time taking off his ſword, delivered it up; and laſt of all, as ſoon as he appeared before *Pompey*, he pulled off his royal diadem, and attempted to lay it at his feet; nay, he would meanly have fallen proſtrate at his knees, had not *Pompey* himſelf prevented it, by taking and placing him at his right hand, and his ſon at his left. *Pompey* then told him, *That as to his loſſes, they were chargeable upon* Lucullus, *for that by him he had been diſpoſſeſſed of* Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, *and* Sophene; *but all that he had preſerved till that time he ſhould peaceably enjoy*,

names of the chief of them, *Hydara*, *Baſgædariza*, and *Sinoria*, which he places on the frontiers of the greater *Armenia*. It is not therefore without good reaſon that *Lubinus* thinks that inſtead of *Inora*, it ought to be read *Sinoria*.

(3) The

enjoy, paying the ſum of ſix thouſand talents as a fine for the injuries done by him to the Romans, *and that his ſon ſhould enjoy the kingdom of* Sophene. *Tigranes* himſelf was well pleaſed with theſe conditions; and therefore when the *Romans* ſaluted him King, he ſeemed to be overjoyed, and promiſed to every common ſoldier half a mina of ſilver, to every centurion ten minæ, and to every tribune a talent. But the ſon was highly diſpleaſed, and when he was invited to ſupper, he replied, *That he did not want that ſort of honour from* Pompey, *and that he ſhould find ſome other* Roman *to be his friend. Pompey* upon this immediately impriſoned him, and reſerved him for his triumph.

Not long after this, *Phraates* King of *Parthia* ſent to *Pompey*, and demanded that the young *Tigranes*, who was his ſon-in-law, ſhould be releaſed to him, and that the river *Euphrates* ſhould be the bound of his conqueſts. *Pompey* replied, *That as to* Tigranes, *he belonged more to his own father, than to his father-in-law; and as for his conqueſts, he would give them ſuch bounds as were agreeable to reaſon and juſtice.*

Pompey leaving *Armenia* under the care of *Afranius*, went himſelf in purſuit of *Mithridates*; whereby he was forced to march through ſeveral nations inhabiting about mount *Caucaſus*. Of theſe the *Albanians* and *Iberians* were the chief. The *Iberians* extend as far as the *Moſchian* mountains, and the kingdom of *Pontus*; the *Albanians* lie more to the eaſt, towards the *Caſpian* ſea. The *Albanians* at firſt permitted *Pompey* upon his entreaty to paſs through the country; but when they found that the winter had ſurprized the *Roman* army whilſt they were in their country, and that they were buſy in celebrating the feſtival of *Saturn*, they collected an army of no leſs than forty thouſand men, with a reſolution to attack them. For this purpoſe they paſſed the river (3) *Cyrnus*, which riſing

(3) The river which *Plutarch* calls *Cyrnus*, is named *Cyrus* by *Strabo* and *Pliny*, whoſe authority ought to be followed.

(4) This is *Strabo*'s opinion, who

riſing among the mountains of *Iberia*, and receiving the river *Araxes* in its courſe from *Armenia*, diſcharges itſelf by twelve different mouths into the *Caſpian* ſea; although others are of opinion, (4) that the *Araxes* does not fall into it, but that they ſeparately, though near each other, diſcharge themſelves into the ſame ſea. It was in the power of *Pompey* to have obſtructed their paſſage over the river, but he permitted it without oppoſition, and as ſoon as they were got over he attacked and routed them, and ſlew a great number of them on the ſpot. Upon this their King ſent ambaſſadors with his ſubmiſſion. *Pompey* pardoned the offence, and having entered into a league with him, marched againſt the *Iberians*, a nation no leſs in number than the other, but much more warlike, and who were firmly reſolved to aſſiſt *Mithridates*, and to oppoſe *Pompey* to the utmoſt. The *Iberians* were not ſubject to the *Medes* or *Perſians*; and they happened likewiſe to eſcape the dominion of the *Macedonians*, becauſe *Alexander* was obliged to quicken his march through *Hyrcania*; but *Pompey* ſubdued them in a deciſive battle, in which nine thouſand were ſlain, and more than ten thouſand taken priſoners. From thence he went into the country of *Colchis*, where *Servilius* met him at the mouth of the river *Phaſis*, with the fleet under his command, with which he guarded the coaſt of *Pontus*.

This purſuit of *Mithridates* was attended with great difficulties, he having concealed himſelf among the nations that inhabit about the *Boſphorus* and the lake *Mæotis*. Beſides, news was brought to *Pompey* that the *Albanians* had revolted: this ſo enraged him that he reſolved to turn his forces againſt them, and paſſed back again over the *Cyrnus* with great difficulty and danger; the barbarians having fortified it with paliſades a great way down the banks. After this, having

who deſcribes the different mouths of thoſe two rivers; and in this he is followed by our modern geographers.

(5) This

having a tedious march to make through a dry and rugged country, he ordered ten thouſand caſks to be filled with water, and ſo advanced towards the enemy. He found them drawn up in order of battle near the river *Abas* (5), to the number of ſixty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, but ill armed, and many of them covered only with the ſkins of wild beaſts (6). Their General was *Coſis* the King's brother, who as ſoon as the battle was begun, ſingled out *Pompey*, and ruſhing in upon him, ſtruck his javelin into the joints of his breaſtplate; but *Pompey* in return pierced him through the body with his lance, and ſlew him. It is reported, that in this fight there were ſeveral *Amazons* who ſerved as auxiliaries to theſe barbarians, and that they came down from thoſe mountains that run along by the river *Thermodon*; for after the battle, when the *Romans* were taking the plunder of the field, they met with ſeveral targets and buſkins of the *Amazons*, but there was not the body of a woman to be ſeen among all the dead. They inhabit thoſe parts of mount *Caucaſus* that look towards the *Hyrcanian* ſea, not bordering upon the *Albanians*, (7) for the territories of the *Gelæ* and the *Leges* lie betwixt; and with theſe people they yearly cohabit for two months, near the river *Thermodon*; after which they return home, and live alone all the reſt of the year.

After this engagement *Pompey* was determined to have marched by the ſide of the *Caſpian* ſea into *Hyrcania*, but was forced to retreat after three days march,

(5) This river rolls down from the mountains of *Albania*, and falls into the *Caſpian* ſea. It is called *Albanus* by *Ptolemy*, and is ſo diſtinguiſhed in our maps.

(6) *Strabo* ſpeaking of theſe people of *Albania*, ſays that they could raiſe more forces than the *Iberians*; for they could ſend into the field no leſs than ſixty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe; but at the ſame time he tells us that thoſe troops were ill diſciplined. They made uſe of darts and arrows, and were armed with cuiraſſes, bucklers and helmets, made of the ſkins of wild beaſts.

(7) *Plutarch* has taken this from *Theophanes* of *Mitylene*, who attended *Pompey* in this expedition,

march, by reaſon of the venomous ſerpents that were very numerous in thoſe countries; and therefore he retired into the leſſer *Armenia*. Whilſt he remained there, he gave audience to ſome ambaſſadors from the kings of the *Medes*, and (8) *Elymæans*, and diſmiſſed them with letters of friendſhip and reſpect to their maſters; but for the king of *Parthia*, who made incurſions upon *Gordyene*, and plundered and haraſſed the ſubjects of *Tigranes*, he ſent an army againſt him under the command of *Afranius*, who put him to the rout, and purſued him as far as *Arbelitis*.

Among all the concubines of King *Mithridates* that were brought before *Pompey*, he had no commerce with any, but ſent them all to their parents and relations; for moſt of them were either the daughters or wives of *Mithridates*'s generals, or of the principal officers in his court. But *Stratonice*, who of all the reſt had the greateſt power and influence over him, and to whom he had committed the cuſtody of that fortreſs where he had lodged the beſt part of his treaſure, was they ſay, the daughter of a certain muſician, a man in years, and in low circumſtances. As ſhe happened one night to ſing at a banquet in *Mithridates*'s preſence, he was ſo ſmitten on a ſudden with her, that he immediately took her to his bed, to the great mortification of the father, who had loſt his daughter without ſo much as a kind word from his Prince in return. But when he roſe in the morning, and ſaw tables covered with veſſels of gold and ſilver,

tion, and drew up a relation of it. In this relation he ſays that the *Amazons* were ſeparated from the *Albanians* by the *Gelæ*, and the *Leges*, nations of *Scythia*. *Strab. Lib.* xi.

(8) The *Elymæans* inhabited a province in *Aſſyria* bordering upon the *Medes*. *Strabo* makes mention of three provinces belonging to the *Elymæans*, *Gabiæna*, *Maſſabitica*, and *Corbiana*. He ſays the low country produced only huſbandmen, but that the highlands abounded in brave ſoldiers, for the moſt part archers, and ſo numerous that the King preſuming upon his ſtrength refuſed to ſubmit to the King of *Parthia*, and ſcorned to follow the example of his neighbours. *Strab. lib.* xvi.

(9) It

ſilver, a great retinue of ſervants eunuchs and pages attending him with rich garments, and (9) a horſe ſtanding before the door magnificently capariſoned, as if he were one of the King's favourites, thinking himſelf mocked and abuſed, he attempted to run out of doors; but the ſervants laying hold of him, informed him that the King had beſtowed on him the houſe and furniture of a rich nobleman lately deceaſed, and that theſe were but the firſt fruits and earneſt of greater riches and poſſeſſions that were to come. When with much difficulty they had perſuaded him to believe this, he put on a purple robe, and mounting his horſe, rode through the city, crying out, *All this is mine!* and to thoſe that laughed at him, he ſaid, *There was nothing ſtrange in this, and they ſhould rather wonder that he did not throw ſtones at all he met through the exceſs of his joy.* Such was *Stratonice*'s father,

And ſuch th' illuſtrious ſtock from which ſhe ſprang (1).

When ſhe delivered up her caſtle into the hands of *Pompey*, and offered him many preſents of great value, he received only ſuch as he thought might ſerve to adorn the temples of the Gods, and add to the ſplendor of his triumph; the reſt he left to *Stratonice*, bidding her pleaſe herſelf in the enjoyment of them. In the ſame manner when the King of *Iberia* preſented him with a bedſtead, table, and a chair of ſtate, all of

(9) It was a cuſtom with thoſe oriental princes to preſent their friends, and ſuch as they had a mind to honour, with a horſe out of their own ſtable in royal furniture. Thus *Ahaſuerus* honoured *Mordecai*, *Eſth.* vi. 8, &c.

(1) *Plutarch* in this grave and magnificent expreſſion, τάυτης μὲν ἦν καὶ γενεᾶς, καὶ ἄιματος ἡ στρατονίκη, uſes the very terms of *Homer*, when he makes his heroes ſay,

Ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ ἄιματος ἔυχομαι εἶναι.

(2) It was the cuſtom among princes to keep an exact regiſter of whatever was tranſacted in the court. Of this we have inſtances

of gold, he delivered them to the quæſtors for the uſe of the commonwealth.

In another caſtle called *Cænon*, *Pompey* ſeized upon ſeveral ſecret writings of *Mithridates*, which he peruſed with no ſmall pleaſure, as they diſcovered very clearly the King's diſpoſition. For there were memoirs whereby it appeared, (2) that beſide many others, he had deſtroyed his own ſon *Ariarathes* by poiſon, as alſo *Alcæus* the *Sardian*, becauſe he had got the better of him in an horſe-race. There were likewiſe ſeveral interpretations of dreams that he or ſome of his concubines had had. Beſide theſe, there were ſome wanton love letters which had paſſed between him and his concubine *Monima*. *Theophanes* tells us, that there was found likewiſe an oration of *Rutilius*, wherein he attempted to exaſperate him againſt the *Romans*, and to perſuade him to put to death all of them that were in *Aſia*: though moſt men juſtly ſuppoſe this to be a malicious invention of *Theophanes*, who hated *Rutilius*, a man in nothing like himſelf (3); or perhaps he might ſay it to gratify *Pompey*, whoſe father is deſcribed by *Rutilius* in his hiſtory as one of the vileſt of men.

From thence *Pompey* came to the city of *Amiſus*, where his ambition led him to commit the ſame odious actions which he had before ſeverely condemned in another. For whereas he had reproached *Lucullus*, for having, while the war yet ſubſiſted, taken upon him to eſtabliſh laws, and diſtribute rewards and

ſtances in the book of *Eſther*.

(3) This is *Publius Rutilius Rufus*, who had been Conſul in the year of *Rome* 649. *Cicero* gives him this great character, *neque in urbe alter ſanctior, vel integrior*. For this reaſon *Plutarch* ſays that *Theophanes* hated him, becauſe he was in nothing like him. *Rutilius* was a good hiſtorian, and wrote the hiſtory of the *Romans* in *Greek*, which was of great ſervice to *Appian*. He was baniſhed into *Aſia*, and when *Sylla* recalled him he would not return; upon which *Seneca* ſays very well, *æquiore animo paſſus eſt ſe patriæ eripi, quam ſibi exilium*. It is very likely that a man of his probity wrote nothing relating to *Strabo*, *Pompey*'s father, but what was exactly true.

and honours, which conquerors uſe to do only when a war is brought to an end; yet now he himſelf, whilſt *Mithridates* was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Boſphorus*, and at the head of a powerful army, as if all were ended, did juſt the ſame thing, regulating the provinces, and diſtributing rewards. Many great commanders and princes having flocked to him, together with no leſs than twelve barbarian kings, he to gratify them when he wrote to the King of *Parthia*, would not condeſcend (as others uſed to do) in the ſuperſcription of his letter to give him his title of *King of Kings*.

He had a great deſire to make himſelf maſter of *Syria*, and to march through *Arabia* to the *Red-ſea*, that he might extend his conqueſts every way to the great ocean that encompaſſes the whole earth. For in *Africa* he was the firſt *Roman* that advanced his victories to the ocean; in *Spain* he had enlarged the *Roman* empire, extending its bounds to the *Atlantick* ſea, and in his late purſuit of the *Albanians* he wanted but little of reaching the *Hyrcanian* ſea. He therefore raiſed his camp, deſigning to bring the *Red-ſea* within the circuit of his expedition, eſpecially when he ſaw how difficult it was to purſue *Mithridates* with an army, and that he proved more troubleſome to the *Romans* when he fled from them, than when he ſtood, and encountered them. Therefore upon his departure, he ſaid, *he left to* Mithridates *a more formidable enemy than himſelf*, meaning *famine*; for which purpoſe he appointed a guard of ſhips to lye in wait for the merchants that ſailed to the *Boſphorus*, having prohibited all upon pain of death to carry proviſions or merchandizes thither.

Then he ſet forward with the greateſt part of his army; and in his march happening to find uninterred

(4) *Plutarch* paſſes over this affair too ſlightly, without making the leaſt mention of the temple of *Jeruſalem* which was taken by force with the loſs of more than twelve thouſand *Jews*. *Pompey* entered into it, but had the moderation not to touch any of the holy utenſils, or the treaſure belonging to it. *Plutarch* might

terred ſeveral dead bodies of thoſe who had been unfortunately ſlain under the conduct of *Triarius* in an engagement with *Mithridates*, he buried them with great ſplendor and magnificence, the neglect of which, it is thought, was a principal cauſe of the hatred which the army bore to *Lucullus*. *Pompey* having now by his forces under the command of *Afranius* ſubdued the *Arabians* that inhabit about mount *Amanus*, himſelf invaded *Syria*; and finding it deſtitute of any natural and lawful Prince, he reduced it into the form of a province, and brought it under the dominion of the *Romans*. He likewiſe (4) conquered *Judæa*, and took King *Ariſtobulus* priſoner. Some cities he built anew, and others he ſet at liberty, chaſtiſing thoſe tyrants who had enſlaved them. The greateſt part of the time he ſpent there was employed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and in deciding the controverſies of kings and ſtates; and where he himſelf could not be preſent in perſon, he ſent his friends with commiſſion to act for him. Thus when there aroſe a difference betwixt the *Armenians* and *Parthians* concerning a country to which they both laid claim, and the judgment was referred to him, he commiſſioned three perſons to be judges and arbitrators of the controverſy. For though the fame of his power was great, yet his reputation for virtue and clemency was not leſs; and by this he procured great indulgence for the offences committed by his friends about him. For although it was not in his nature to check or chaſtiſe an offender, yet he behaved in ſuch a manner to thoſe who addreſſed their complaints to him, that they always went away contented, and patiently ſubmitted to the avarice and oppreſſion of his officers. The perſon who had the greateſt power and influence with him, was *Demetrius* his

might have taken notice of the golden vine preſented to *Pompey* by *Ariſtobulus*, valued at five hundred talents. *Strabo* ſays he ſaw it in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* in *Rome*, where it was conſecrated.

his freedman, a youth of good underſtanding, but too inſolent in his good fortune; the following ſtory is related of him. *Cato* the philoſopher, being as yet a young man, though in high reputation, and of great dignity of mind, took a journey to *Antioch* in *Pompey*'s abſence, to ſee that city. He, as his cuſtom was, walked on foot, and his friends accompanied him on horſeback. When he came near the city, he perceived a great croud about the gate, and one ſide of the way lined with young men, and the other with boys, all in white. This ſight diſpleaſed him much, for he thought it was a complement paid to him, whereas he did not deſire any ſuch mark of reſpect. However he bid his companions alight and walk with him. As they drew near, the maſter of the ceremonies came out with a garland on his head, and a wand in his hand, and enquired, *Where they had left* Demetrius? *and when he would come?* Upon this *Cato*'s companions burſt into laughter; but *Cato* ſaid only, *Alas poor city!* and paſſed by without any other anſwer. But *Pompey* himſelf rendered *Demetrius* leſs odious to others by enduring his inſolence towards himſelf. For it is reported that frequently when *Pompey* had invited his friends to an entertainment, and was waiting to receive them, *Demetrius* in the mean time would place himſelf at the table with his (5) cap inſolently pulled over his ears. Before his return into *Italy*, he had purchaſed the pleaſanteſt *Villas* about *Rome*, with magnificent apartments for entertaining his friends, and ſumptuous gardens, called from his name *the gardens of* Demetrius; though *Pompey* himſelf was contented with a mean and indifferent habitation till his third triumph. Afterwards, it is true, when he had erected that famous and ſtately theatre for the people of *Rome*, he built (as an appendix to it) an houſe for himſelf, more ſplendid than his

(5) The word ἱμάτιον ſignifies in this place a cap, or bonnet, and not the flaps of a garment. It is well known that the

his former, but ſtill too plain to expoſe him to envy; ſo that he who came to be maſter of that houſe after *Pompey*, could not but admire at it, and aſked *where* Pompey *the Great uſed to ſup?* Thus are theſe things reported.

The King of *Arabia Petræa*, who had hitherto deſpiſed the power of the *Romans*, now began to think it very formidable, and therefore diſpatched letters to *Pompey*, wherein he promiſed to ſubmit to him, and to do whatever he ſhould command. However *Pompey* being deſirous to confirm him in thoſe ſentiments, marched on towards *Petra*. This expedition did not entirely eſcape cenſure from the common ſoldiers, who charged him with undertaking it merely to decline the purſuit of *Mithridates*; whereas they thought themſelves bound to turn their arms againſt him as their inveterate enemy, who was now reviving the war again, and making preparations (as it was reported) to lead his army through *Scythia* and *Pannonia* into *Italy*. *Pompey*, on the other ſide, judging it eaſier to ſubdue his forces in battle, than to ſeize his perſon in flight, reſolved not to tire himſelf out in a vain purſuit, but rather to ſpend the main time in diverting the war upon another enemy. But fortune reſolved the doubt; for whilſt he was yet not far from *Petra*, and had pitched his tents, and encamped for that day, as he was exerciſing himſelf on horſeback without the camp ſome meſſengers came with letters out of *Pontus*. It was eaſily perceived even when they were at a diſtance that they brought good news, by the heads of their javelins which were crowned with branches of laurel. The ſoldiers, as ſoon as they ſaw them, flocked immediately to *Pompey*, who notwithſtanding was deſirous to make an end of his exerciſe; but when they began to be clamorous and importunate, he alighted from his horſe, and taking the

the cap was a token of enfranchiſement; and ſuch as had been newly made free uſed ordinarily to wear a cap, though it

the letters, went before them into the camp. There being no tribunal prepared, the ſoldiers were too impatient to raiſe one, ſuch as they uſed to erect by cutting up thick turfs of earth, and piling them one upon another; but through eagerneſs and haſte they heaped up a pile of pack-ſaddles, and *Pompey* ſtanding upon that, told them *that* Mithridates *was dead, that he had laid violent hands upon himſelf, upon the revolt of his ſon* Pharnaces, *and that* Pharnaces *had taken every thing into his hands, which he did (as his letters mentioned) in right of himſelf and the* Romans. Upon this news the whole army expreſſed their joy, as we may well imagine, and ſpent their time in ſacrificing and feaſting, as if in the perſon of *Mithridates* alone there had died many thouſands of their enemies.

Pompey having thus brought this war to an end with much more eaſe than was expected, departed forthwith out of *Arabia*, and paſſing quickly through the intermediate provinces, came at length to the city of *Amiſus*. There he received many magnificent preſents from *Pharnaces*, (6) and ſeveral bodies of the late princes of the royal family, together with that of *Mithridates* himſelf, which was not eaſy to be known by the face, (for thoſe that embalmed him had not dried up his brain;) but thoſe who were curious to ſee him, knew him by the ſcars there. *Pompey* himſelf could not bear to ſee him; but to avert the wrath of the Gods, he ſent it away to the city of *Sinope*. He admired the richneſs of his robe, no leſs than the ſize and ſplendor of his armour. The ſcabbard of his ſword, which coſt four hundred talents, was ſtolen by *Publius*, and ſold to *Ariarathes*; his diadem

was the general cuſtom among the *Romans* to go bare-headed.

(6) *Pharnaces* ſent thoſe bodies to *Pompey* for his further aſſurance, and to let him know that he had nothing to fear from the houſe of *Mithridates*.

(7) This in my opinion is the true ſenſe of thoſe words περὶ τὴν καθ' ὅλης ζητήσεως. This *Hermagoras* had written a treatiſe concerning the principles of rhetorick, and was for reducing *Invention* under ſome general heads, which *Poſidonius* would not

diadem which was of admirable workmanſhip, *Caius* the foſter-brother of *Mithridates* gave privately to *Fauſtus* the ſon of *Sylla* at his earneſt requeſt. All this *Pompey* was ignorant of; but afterwards, when *Pharnaces* diſcovered it, he puniſhed thoſe who had embezzled them.

Pompey now having ſettled all things in that province, marched homewards in greater pomp and ſtate than ever. For when he came to *Mitylene*, he gave the citizens their freedom upon the interceſſion of *Theophanes*, and was preſent at the anniverſary exerciſes or contentions of the poets who at that time had no other ſubject than the actions of *Pompey*. Being exceedingly pleaſed with the theatre itſelf, he drew a model of it, intending to erect one in *Rome* in the ſame form, but larger and more magnificent. When he came to *Rhodes*, he heard the declamations of all the ſophiſts, and gave to each of them a talent. *Poſidonius* has written the diſputation which he held before him againſt *Hermagoras* the rhetorician, in confutation of his opinion concerning (7) *Invention in general*. At *Athens* he behaved in the ſame manner; he alſo gave fifty talents towards the repairing and beautifying the city. He now expected to return into *Italy* with greater glory than any man had ever acquired before; he had likewiſe a paſſionate deſire to be ſeen of his family, where he thought he was expected with equal impatience. But that God, whoſe province it is always to mix ſome ingredient of evil even with the greateſt and moſt ſplendid favours of fortune, had been long preparing to embitter his return to his family; for (8) *Mutia* during his abſence

not allow of, any more than *Cicero*, who in his firſt book *de Inventione Rhetorica*, ſays, *Nam Hermagoras quidem, nec quid dicat attendere, nec quid polliceatur intelligere videtur, qui oratoris materiam in cauſam, & quæſtionem dividat*. *Poſidonius* was of *Apamea*, and was *Cicero*'s maſter. He is not to be confounded with *Poſidonius* of *Alexandria*, who had been *Zeno*'s diſciple, and was dead long before.

(8) She was ſiſter to *Q. Metellus Celer*, and *Q. Metellus Nepos*, and

abſence had diſhonoured his bed. Whilſt he was at a diſtance, he gave little heed to the report; but when he drew nearer to *Italy*, and was more at leiſure to conſider of the accuſation, being convinced of the truth of it, he ſent her a bill of divorce; but neither then in writing, nor afterwards in diſcourſe, did he ever give a reaſon why he diſcharged her; but the cauſe is mentioned in *Cicero*'s *Epiſtles*.

There were various rumours ſcattered abroad concerning *Pompey*, which were carried to *Rome* before him, and the people were in great agitation, thinking that he deſigned to march with his army directly into the city, and eſtabliſh himſelf in an abſolute power. *Craſſus* upon this, taking with him his children and his money withdrew out of the city, either being really afraid, or (as is moſt probable) pretending to give credit to the calumny, that he might the more exaſperate the people. *Pompey* therefore, as ſoon as he entered *Italy*, aſſembled his army, and having made an oration ſuitable to the circumſtances of affairs, and aſſured them of his regard and affection, he commanded them to depart to their ſeveral habitations, only remembering to meet again at his triumph. This diſbanding of the army, the news of which was ſoon ſpread all over *Italy*, produced a very remarkable effect. For when the cities ſaw *Pompey the Great* unarmed, and with a ſmall train of friends only, as if he was returning from an ordinary journey, they came pouring in upon him out of pure affection and reſpect, and conducted him to *Rome* with far greater forces than thoſe he had diſbanded; ſo that if he had deſigned to make any innovation in the ſtate, he might have done it without the aſſiſtance of his army.

As

and was debauched by *Cæſar*. For this reaſon when *Pompey* eſpouſed the daughter of this paramour of his wife, he was reproached *that after having had three children by her he turned her out of doors, and that to gratify his ambition he had condeſcended to marry*

As the law permitted no man to enter into the city before his triumph, he ſent to the ſenate, entreating them to gratify him by proroguing the election of Conſuls, that he might have an opportunity of being preſent and of countenancing *Piſo*, who was at that time one of the candidates. But this being oppoſed by *Cato*, he failed of his deſign. However he could not but admire that freedom and boldneſs of ſpeech in *Cato*, wherewith he alone above all others durſt openly engage in the maintenance of law and juſtice. He therefore had a great deſire to purchaſe his friendſhip at any rate; and as *Cato* had two nieces, *Pompey* propoſed to marry one himſelf, and to procure the other for his ſon. But *Cato* ſuſpecting that the propoſal was made with a deſign of corrupting his integrity by this alliance, would not hearken to it; but his wife and ſiſter, highly reſented his refuſal of an affinity with *Pompey the Great*. About that time *Pompey* having a deſign to make *Afranius* Conſul, gave a ſum of money among the tribes, and the diſtribution was made even in his own gardens, ſo that when this affair came to be publickly known, *Pompey* was ſeverely cenſured for rendering that office venal which had been beſtowed on him as the reward of his merit, and expoſing it to be purchaſed with money by thoſe, who could not obtain it by their virtue. Upon this *Cato* ſaid to his wife and ſiſter, *Now, had we contracted an alliance with* Pompey, *we ſhould have ſhared in his diſhonour too.* Which when they heard, they could not but acknowledge that he was a better judge of what was decent and honourable.

The ſplendor and magnificence of *Pompey*'s triumph was ſuch, that though it held for the ſpace of two days, yet that time was not ſufficient, and the quantity of the preparations which were not uſed was great enough

*marry the daughter of him, whom he uſed with a ſigh to call his Æ*giſthus. *Mutia*'s incontinence muſt have been very publick, ſince *Cicero* in one of his letters to *Atticus* ſays, *Divortium Mutiæ vehementer probatur.* Lib. i. Epiſt. 12.

(9) This

enough to have furniſhed out another triumph. In the firſt place, there were tables carried, wherein were written the names and titles of all the vanquiſhed nations, ſuch as *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Media*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Phœnicia*, *Palæſtine*, *Judæa*, *Arabia*; his victory over the pirates whom he totally ſubdued by ſea and land, was alſo recorded there. It appeared that there had been taken no leſs than a thouſand caſtles, nor much leſs than nine hundred cities, together with eight hundred ſhips of the pirates, and that thirty-nine towns which lay deſolate had been repeopled. It was mentioned beſides in theſe tables, that all the tributes throughout the *Roman* empire before theſe conqueſts amounted but to fifty millions of *Drachmas*, whereas by his acquiſitions they were advanced to eighty-five millions; and that he had brought into the publick treaſury in ready money, and in gold and ſilver veſſels to the value of twenty thouſand talents, beſide that which had been diſtributed among the ſoldiers, of whom he that received leaſt had an hundred and fifty drachmas for his ſhare. The priſoners of war led in triumph, beſide the captains of the pirates, were the ſon of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, with his wife and daughter; *Zoſime*, the wife of King *Tigranes* himſelf; *Ariſtobulus*, King of *Judæa*; the ſiſter of King *Mithridates*, and her five ſons; and ſome women of *Scythia*. There were likewiſe the hoſtages of the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, and of the King of *Comagena*; beſides as many trophies as were equal to the number of the battles which he had gained either himſelf in perſon, or by his lieutenants. But that which ſeemed to be his greateſt glory, and to which no other *Roman* had ever attained, was this, that he made his third triumph over the third part of the world. Other *Romans* before

(9) This number is erroneous; *Pompey* was at that time forty-five years old; for he was born in the year of *Rome* 647, and

before him had received the honour of three triumphs; but *Pompey*'s firſt triumph was over *Africa*, his ſecond over *Europe*, and this his third over *Aſia*; ſo that all three together ſeemed to declare him the conqueror of the whole world.

As for *Pompey*'s age, thoſe who affect to make the parallel exact in all things betwixt him and *Alexander* the Great, will not allow him to be quite thirty-four, whereas in truth at that time he was near forty (9). How happy would it have been for him to have died, then while his fortune was like that of *Alexander!* But through all the remainder of his life his proſperity only rendered him odious, and his calamities were irretrievable. For that great power and authority which he had gained in the city by his extraordinary merit was employed in an unjuſt manner in behalf of his friends; ſo that by advancing their fortunes, he detracted from his own glory, till at laſt he was ruined by the force and greatneſs of his own power. And as the ſtrongeſt places in a city when once taken, inſtead of being any longer a defence are an acceſſion to the force of the enemy: ſo *Cæſar* having riſen to power by *Pompey*'s means, deſtroyed him by that very power which he himſelf had employed in ſubduing others. And thus it happened.

Lucullus, when he returned out of *Aſia*, where he had been treated with great indignity by *Pompey*, met with an honourable reception from the ſenate; and when *Pompey* was preſent, in order to give a check to his power they paid ſtill greater reſpect to *Lucullus*, and encouraged him to reaſſume his authority in the adminiſtration of the government; for he was now grown cold and inactive in buſineſs, having given himſelf up to indolence and pleaſure, and the enjoyment of a ſplendid fortune. However, being now rouſed to action, he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed *Pompey*, and procured

and his third triumph was in the year 692.

(1) Upon

procured thoſe acts and decrees of his, which the other had repealed, to be re-eſtabliſhed; and by the aſſiſtance of *Cato*, he obtained a greater intereſt in the ſenate than *Pompey*. *Pompey* being thus overpowered found himſelf obliged to fly to the tribunes of the people for refuge, and to court the favour of the young men. *Clodius*, who was the moſt daring and profligate of them all, rendered him the mere tool of the populace, expoſing him in a manner very much beneath his dignity, and leading him continually up and down the *Forum*, to countenance thoſe laws which he propoſed, and the ſpeeches which he made to ingratiate himſelf with the people. And at laſt, as if he had not diſgraced, but honoured him, he demanded of *Pompey* for his reward, that he ſhould forſake *Cicero*, who was his friend, and who on many occaſions had exerted himſelf in his ſervice. This reward he obtained in the end: for when *Cicero* afterwards was under a proſecution, and requeſted *Pompey*'s aſſiſtance, he would not ſo much as admit him into his preſence, but ſhutting his gates againſt thoſe who came to intercede for him, went out at a back-door; therefore *Cicero* fearing the event of the trial departed privately from *Rome*.

About this time *Cæſar* returning from his province, contrived a ſcheme which brought him into great favour at preſent, and much increaſed his power afterwards; but it proved extremely deſtructive both to *Pompey* and the commonwealth. He now ſtood candidate for his firſt Conſulſhip; and obſerving the enmity betwixt *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, and finding that by joining with one, he ſhould make the other his enemy, he endeavoured by all means to reconcile them. The deſign in appearance was laudable and advantageous to the publick, but in reality artfully and deeply contrived for the ruin of the ſtate. For oppoſite parties or factions in a commonwealth, like ballaſt equally diſtributed in a ſhip, keep it upright and ſteady; whereas if they combine together, the weight which thus

thus is all thrown to one ſide muſt for want of a counterbalance overſet the whole. Therefore *Cato* told them who charged all the calamities of *Rome* upon the diſagreement betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, that they were in a great error, for it was not their late diſcord and enmity, but their former unanimity and friendſhip, that had given the firſt and deepeſt wound to the commonwealth.

To this indeed *Cæſar* owed his Conſulſhip, which having obtained, he began immediately to ingratiate himſelf with the pooreſt and meaneſt of the commonalty, by propoſing laws for the planting of colonies and for the diſtribution of lands; whereby he debaſed the dignity of his office, acting rather like a tribune of the people than a Conſul. When *Bibulus* his collegue oppoſed him, and *Cato* was prepared to ſecond *Bibulus*, and aſſiſt him vigorouſly, *Cæſar* brought *Pompey* to the *Roſtrum*, and there directing his ſpeech to him before the whole people, demanded his opinion of thoſe laws. *Pompey* having expreſſed his approbation, *Cæſar* replied, *If then any man ſhould offer violence to theſe laws, wilt not thou be ready to aſſiſt the people? Yes,* (replied *Pompey*) *I ſhall always be ready, and againſt thoſe that threaten with the ſword, I will appear with ſword and ſhield.* Nothing was ever ſaid or done by *Pompey* to that very day, that ſeemed more inſolent or odious than this; his friends therefore endeavoured to palliate the offence by ſaying it was an expreſſion that dropt from him through inadvertency; but by his actions afterwards it appeared plainly that he was totally devoted to *Cæſar*; for in a few days *Pompey*, beyond all men's expectation, married *Julia* the daughter of *Cæſar*, who had been engaged before, and was to be married to *Cæpio*: and to appeaſe *Cæpio*'s reſentment, he gave him his own daughter in marriage, who had been eſpouſed before to *Fauſtus* the ſon of *Sylla*: but *Cæſar* himſelf married *Calpurnia* the daughter of *Piſo*.

Upon

Upon this, *Pompey* filling the city with ſoldiers, carried all things by force as he pleaſed; for as *Bibulus* the Conſul was going into the *Forum*, accompanied by *Lucullus* and *Cato*, they fell upon his officers on a ſudden, and broke the rods, and ſome body threw a pan of ordure upon the head of *Bibulus* himſelf; whilſt two of the tribunes of the people, who accompanied him, were deſperately wounded in the fray. By theſe means having cleared the *Forum* of all their adverſaries, the law for the diviſion of lands was paſſed. And the populace being caught with this bait, became entirely obedient to them, and without any debate or heſitation paſſed unanimouſly whatever they propounded. Thus they confirmed all thoſe decrees of *Pompey* which were conteſted by *Lucullus*; to *Cæſar* they granted the provinces of *Gallia Ciſalpina* and *Tranſalpina*, together with *Illyricum*, for five years, and likewiſe an army of four entire legions; and for the year enſuing, *Piſo* the father-in-law of *Cæſar*, and *Gabinius*, one of the chief flatterers of *Pompey*, were elected Conſuls.

During all theſe tranſactions, *Bibulus* kept cloſe within doors, nor did he appear publickly for the laſt eight months of his Conſulſhip (1), but contented himſelf with ſending out proclamations full of bitter invectives and accuſations againſt them both. *Cato* as if he had been divinely inſpired, continually propheſied in the ſenate the calamities that would befal the commonwealth and *Pompey*. But *Lucullus* totally retired from buſineſs as one who by reaſon of his age was no longer fit to engage in publick affairs; upon which occaſion *Pompey* ſaid, *That luxury was much more unſeaſonable for an old man than buſineſs.* But notwithſtanding this he himſelf not long after grew indolent and

(1) Upon this the wits of *Rome*, when they were to mention the events of that year, inſtead of ſaying *Under the Conſulſhip of* Cæſar *and* Bibulus, ſaid, *Under the Conſulſhip of* Julius *and* Cæſar.

(2) This happened under the Conſulſhip of *Philippus* and *Marcellinus*, in the year of *Rome* 697,

as

and luxurious, wantoning in the embraces of his young wife, whom he never quitted, but ſpent almoſt all his time with her at his country-ſeats, and gardens of pleaſure, neglecting the buſineſs of the commonwealth. So that *Clodius*, who was then tribune of the people, began to deſpiſe him, and engage in many bold attempts againſt him. For when he had baniſhed *Cicero*, and ſent away *Cato* into *Cyprus* under a ſpecious pretence of war, when *Cæſar* was gone upon his expedition into *Gaul*, and he found that the populace was devoted to him, as a man whoſe actions were all directed to pleaſe them, he attempted immediately to repeal ſeveral of *Pompey*'s decrees. Accordingly he took *Tigranes* out of priſon, and led him about with him as his companion: he likewiſe commenced proſecutions againſt ſeveral of *Pompey*'s friends, deſigning by theſe meaſures to make an eſtimate of *Pompey*'s power and intereſt. At laſt, when *Pompey* came one day into the *Forum* to aſſiſt in a certain cauſe, (2) *Clodius*, accompanied with a croud of diſſolute and deſperate ruffians, and ſtanding up in an eminent place above the reſt, aſked theſe queſtions; *Who is the licentious General? What man is that, who ſeeks for a man? Who is it that ſcratches his head with one finger?* His attendants, like a chorus on the ſtage, at the ſignal of ſhaking his gown, anſwered each queſtion, roaring out aloud *Pompey*. This indeed was no ſmall affliction to *Pompey*, a man unaccuſtomed to reproach and inſult, and altogether unexperienced in combats of this kind. But he was ſtill more grieved, when he came to underſtand that the ſenate were pleaſed to ſee him treated with ſuch contempt, and looked upon it as a juſt puniſhment for his treachery to *Cicero*. But when from words they came to blows in the *Forum*, and ſeveral were wounded on

(2) as appears by *Dion*'s account, *lib.* xxxix. that is, two years after what *Plutarch* is going to relate concerning *Clodius*'s ſervant who was taken with a ſword. He does not here keep exactly to the order of time.

(3) *Dion*

on both ſides, and when one of *Clodius*'s ſlaves was apprehended, creeping through the croud towards *Pompey* with a ſword in his hand; *Pompey* laying hold of this pretence, and fearing beſides *Clodius*'s inſolence and reproaches, never would go to any publick aſſemblies, during all the time he was tribune, but kept cloſe at home, and paſſed his time in conſulting with his friends, by what means he might beſt allay the diſpleaſure of the ſenate and nobles againſt him. *Culleo* adviſed him to divorce *Julia*, and to exchange *Cæſar*'s friendſhip for that of the ſenate; but this he would not hearken to. Others adviſed him to call home *Cicero* from baniſhment, a man who was always the great adverſary of *Clodius*, and a great favourite of the ſenate; to this he conſented; and having brought *Cicero*'s brother into the *Forum*, attended with a ſtrong party, to petition for his return, after a warm diſpute, wherein ſeveral were wounded and ſome ſlain, he overcame *Clodius*. *Cicero* being reſtored by a decree of the people, immediately reconciled the ſenate to *Pompey*; and withal, by effectually recommending the law for the importation of corn, did again, in a manner, make *Pompey* Sovereign of all the *Roman* empire by ſea and land. For by that law he had the command of all the ports and markets, the ſale of proviſions was directed by him, and in ſhort, all concerns both of the merchants and huſbandmen were under his juriſdiction. But *Clodius* ſaid, *That the law was not made becauſe of the ſcarcity of corn, but the ſcarcity of corn was made, that they might paſs a law, whereby that power of his, which was now grown feeble and conſumptive, might be revived again, and* Pompey *reinſtated in a new empire.* Others looked upon it as a contrivance of *Spinther* the Conſul, whoſe deſign it was to occupy *Pompey* in a greater employment, that he himſelf might be ſent to the aſſiſtance of King *Ptolemy*. However *Canidius* the tribune propoſed a law to ſend *Pompey* without an army, and attended only with two lictors, as an arbitrator betwixt the

the King and his ſubjects of *Alexandria*. This law did not ſeem unacceptable to *Pompey*; but the ſenate rejected it, upon a pretence that they were unwilling to hazard his perſon. However, there were found ſeveral writings ſcattered about the *Forum* and ſenate-houſe, intimating how grateful it would be to *Ptolemy* to have *Pompey* appointed for his General inſtead of *Spinther*. *Timagenes* adds, that *Ptolemy* left *Egypt*, and came to *Rome*, not out of neceſſity, but purely upon the perſuaſion of *Theophanes*, who deſigned to give *Pompey* an occaſion of enriching himſelf and of obtaining a new command. But though the villainous character of *Theophanes* might render this ſtory probable, yet the noble diſpoſition of *Pompey* is a much ſtronger argument againſt it; for he was incapable of ſuch mean diſingenuous artifices, even in favour of his ambition.

The whole care of providing corn being committed to *Pompey*, he ſent abroad his factors and agents into all quarters, and he himſelf ſailing into *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Africa*, collected great quantities. As he was juſt ready to embark in order to return home, there aroſe a great ſtorm, ſo that his pilots were unwilling to ſet ſail. But *Pompey* himſelf going firſt aboard, commanded the mariners to weigh anchor, crying out, *It is neceſſary for me to go, but it is not neceſſary for me to live*. This ardour and reſolution was ſeconded by fortune, ſo that he made a proſperous voyage, and ſtored all the markets in *Rome* with corn, and covered the ſea with ſhips. Such was the quantity of proviſions imported, that there was a ſufficient ſupply, not only for the city of *Rome*, but for foreigners too; and plenty diſperſed itſelf, like a copious fountain through many ſtreams, into all parts of *Italy*.

In the mean time *Cæſar* was growing great by his conqueſts in *Gaul*; and when he ſeemed to be furtheſt diſtant from *Rome*, and to be entirely occupied in the affairs of *Belgia*, *Suevia*, and *Britain*, then was he

working craftily and ſecretly in the midſt of the people, and undermining *Pompey* in his chief deſigns. For his principal deſign was not to ſubdue the barbarians, but by his combats with them to harden and invigorate his ſoldiers (as a body is ſtrengthened by hunting and the like exerciſes) that they might be formidable and invincible when employed againſt others. The gold and ſilver, and the reſt of the treaſures and ſpoils which he had taken from ſuch a vaſt number of enemies, he ſent to *Rome*, in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt there, diſtributing them in preſents to the Ædiles, Prætors, and Conſuls, together with their wives, whereby he purchaſed a multitude of friends; ſo that when he returned over the *Alps*, and took up his winter-quarters in the city of *Luca*, not only an infinite number of the common people both men and women eagerly flocked to him, but likewiſe two hundred ſenators, among whom were *Pompey* and *Craſſus*; and there were to be ſeen at once before *Cæſar*'s gates no leſs than a hundred and twenty *Faſces* of proconſuls and prætors. As for the reſt, he ſent them all away with rich preſents and great expectations; but he entered into an agreement with *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, that they ſhould ſtand candidates for the Conſulſhip next year; that he ſhould ſend a great number of ſoldiers to give their votes at the election; that as ſoon as they were elected, they ſhould uſe their intereſt to have the government of ſome provinces and armies aſſigned to themſelves, and that he ſhould have his preſent command confirmed to him for five years more. But afterwards, when theſe deſigns came to be diſcovered and publickly talked of, they gave great offence to the chief men of *Rome*; and therefore *Marcellinus* once in a full aſſembly of the

(3) *Dion* makes him return an anſwer, which ſeems more agreeable to his character. *It is not*, ſaid he, *for the ſake of the honeſt citizens that I deſire any ſhare in the magiſtracy; but it is on purpoſe to reſtrain the diſhoneſt and ſeditious, that I now demand the Conſulſhip.*

(4) Whenever the people were aſſembled

the people demanded of them both, *Whether they deſigned to ſue for the Conſulſhip or no?* And being urged by the people for their anſwer, *Pompey* ſpoke firſt, and told them, *Perhaps he would ſue for it, perhaps he would not* (3). But *Craſſus* anſwered more mildly, *that he ſhould do what appeared to him to be moſt advantageous to the commonwealth.* *Marcellinus* then addreſſed himſelf again to *Pompey* and ſpoke with great ſeverity; upon which he replied, *that* Marcellinus *was the moſt ungrateful of men, ſince by his means of a mute he was made an orator, and though ſtarving before, was now glutted even to a vomit.*

Though others now declined ſuing for the Conſulſhip, yet *Cato* perſuaded and encouraged *Lucius Domitius* not to deſiſt; *For*, ſaid he, *the conteſt now is not for obtaining the Conſulſhip, but for ſecuring our liberty againſt tyrants and uſurpers.* Therefore *Pompey*'s party fearing the inflexible conſtancy of *Cato*, leſt, as he had ſuch an aſcendant in the ſenate, he ſhould likewiſe pervert and draw after him all the ſober part of the commonalty, reſolved to prevent *Domitius*'s entrance into the *Forum*. For this purpoſe they ſent in a band of armed men, who ſlew the torch-bearer of *Domitius*, as he was leading the way before him, and put all the reſt of his company to flight; *Cato* retired laſt of all, having received a wound in his right arm in defence of *Domitius*. Having by theſe practices ſeized upon the Conſulſhip, they uſed as little moderation in the exerciſe of their power, as they had ſhown in the obtaining it. For in the firſt place, when the people were chuſing *Cato* Prætor, and juſt ready to give their votes, *Pompey* broke up the aſſembly, pretending that he ſaw an inauſpicious flight of birds (4); after which having corrupted the tribes, they

aſſembled in order to poll, if the Conſul, or ſome other magiſtrate, declared he obſerved ſome inauſpicious birds in the heavens, the aſſembly broke up immediately. So that the magiſtrate never wanted a pretext to ſtop any thing from paſſing which was not agreeable to his intereſt, or humour. To pre-

they declared *Antias* and *Vatinius* Prætors. Then in purſuance of their agreement with *Cæſar*, a decree was propoſed by *Trebonius* the tribune, and ratified by the people, for continuing *Cæſar* in his command for five years more; to *Craſſus Syria* and the *Parthian* war were aſſigned; and to *Pompey* himſelf all *Africa*, together with both the *Spains*, and four legions of ſoldiers, two of which he lent to *Cæſar* upon his requeſt, for the wars in *Gaul*.

Craſſus upon the expiration of his Conſulſhip departed immediately into his province; but *Pompey* ſpent ſome time in *Rome*, upon the opening or dedication of his theatre, where he exhibited to the people entertainments of muſick, gymnaſtick exerciſes, and combats with wild beaſts, wherein five hundred lions were ſlain; but that ſpectacle which raiſed the greateſt aſtoniſhment and terror was the combat with elephants, which concluded the whole (5).

Theſe magnificent entertainments procured him great love and eſteem from the people; but on the other hand he cauſed as much diſcontent by committing the care of his provinces and legions to ſuch of his lieutenants as were moſt in his favour, whilſt he ſpent his time in *Italy*, going about continually from one *Villa* to another with his wife, either becauſe he was extremely fond of her, or becauſe he was unwilling to leave her on account of her fondneſs for him. It is certain, that *Julia*'s love for her huſband was very much celebrated; not that *Pompey* was then in the flower of his age; but her affection for him was owing to the aſſurance ſhe had of his conſtancy, and to the charms of his converſation, which, notwithſtanding his natural gravity, was agreeable and chearful, and extremely engaging with the women, unleſs we will

vent which abuſe, *Clodius* had made a law, *That no magiſtrate ſhould obſerve tokens in the heavens whilſt the people were aſſembled.*

(5) *Dion* ſays that there were eighteen elephants that fought, and that ſome of them being wounded ſeemed to cry out for quarter, and to complain to the *Romans* of the injuſtice that had been

will reject the teſtimony of *Flora* the courtezan. A tumult once happening in the publick aſſembly at an election of Ædiles, and ſeveral perſons about *Pompey* being ſlain, he, finding himſelf covered with blood, changed his clothes. The ſervants who carried home his clothes ran thither in great hurry and confuſion; and *Julia* (who was then with child) ſeeing his gown all ſtained with blood, immediately fainted away, and was with great difficulty recovered; however, through the terror and agitation of her mind, ſhe fell in labour and miſcarried. Wherefore even thoſe who chiefly cenſured *Pompey* for his friendſhip to *Cæſar*, could not reprove him for his affection to his wife. Afterwards ſhe was pregnant again, and was brought to-bed of a daughter, but died in childbed; neither did the infant outlive her mother many days. *Pompey* had prepared all things for the interment of her corpſe at his ſeat near *Alba*; but the people ſeized upon it by force, and buried it in the *Campus Martius*, more out of concern for her than regard either to *Pompey* or *Cæſar*; and yet of the two, they ſeemed to ſhow more reſpect to *Cæſar* though abſent, than to *Pompey* though preſent.

As ſoon as the death of *Julia* had diſſolved that alliance which hitherto had been a diſguiſe rather than reſtraint to the ambition of theſe men, tumults began to riſe in the city, and all the publick tranſactions and ſpeeches ſeemed to manifeſt a ſpirit of diſcord and ſedition. Beſides, not long after intelligence was brought from *Parthia* of the death of *Craſſus*; whereby another great obſtacle to a civil war was removed; for the fear of him preſerved them both from coming to extremities againſt each other; but when fortune had taken away this champion, who, if either of them

been done them. For as they were putting them on ſhipboard in *Africa*, they who had the care of them took an oath that they ſhould not be injured; the *Romans* therefore being moved with compaſſion ſaved them.

them had foiled his antagoniſt, was able to cope with the victor, you might then ſay with the comedian,

Preparing for the ſtrife each wreſtler ſtands,
His body rubs with oil, with duſt his hands.

So inconſiderable a thing is fortune in reſpect of the human mind, and ſo inſufficient to ſatisfy its boundleſs deſires, that an empire of that vaſt extent could not content the ambition of two men. Though they knew and had read, (6) that when the empire of the univerſe was divided by lot among three Gods, each God ſat down contented with his own ſhare, yet they thought the whole *Roman* empire not ſufficient for them, though they were but two.

Pompey in an oration to the people, told them plainly, *that he ever came into office before he expected he ſhould, and that he always left it ſooner than they expected he would*; and indeed, the diſbanding of his armies was a proof of this. Yet when he perceived that *Cæſar* would not ſo willingly diſcharge his forces, he then endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt him by offices and commands in the city; and this he did without attempting any other innovation; nor would he have it thought that he had any diſtruſt or fear of *Cæſar*, but rather that he neglected and deſpiſed him. But when he perceived that the offices were not diſtributed as he would have them, the citizens having been corrupted by money, he thought it more expedient for his purpoſe to have the city left in a ſtate of anarchy. Upon this it was generally ſaid that there was a neceſſity for chuſing a Dictator, *Lucilius* the tribune firſt ventured to propoſe it in publick, and exhorted the people to make choice of *Pompey* for that dignity; but being ſeverely reprimanded by *Cato* for it, he had like to have been turned out of

(6) *Plutarch* alludes here to a paſſage in the fifteenth book of the *Iliad*, where *Neptune* ſays to *Iris*,

Aſſign'd by lot our triple rule we know;
Infernal Pluto *ſways the ſhades below*;
O'er

of his office. This made many of *Pompey*'s friends ſtand up in his behalf, and declare that he neither aſked nor wiſhed for the Dictatorſhip. Upon this *Cato* highly applauded *Pompey*, and recommended it earneſtly to him to take care that all things ſhould be conducted in a regular and legal manner; and as he could not for ſhame refuſe to comply with ſuch a requeſt, *Domitius* and *Meſſala* were elected Conſuls.

Afterwards, when the city fell again into the ſame anarchy and confuſion, and many perſons talked of chuſing a Dictator even with greater boldneſs than before, *Cato*, fearing leſt he ſhould be forced to it at laſt, determined to divert *Pompey* from aiming at that abſolute and uncontroulable power by giving him an office of more legal authority: nay even *Bibulus*, who was *Pompey*'s enemy, firſt propoſed in the ſenate, that *Pompey* ſhould be created Conſul alone; alledging, *That by this means either the commonwealth would be freed from its preſent confuſion, or that its bondage ſhould be leſſened by ſerving the worthieſt.* This was looked upon as a very ſtrange motion, conſidering the man from whom it came; and therefore when *Cato* ſtood up, every body expected that he would have oppoſed it, and liſtened in profound ſilence; but he told them plainly, *That for his own part he ſhould never have been the author of that advice himſelf, but ſince it was propounded by another, his opinion was that it ſhould be followed*; adding, *That any form of government was better than none at all; and that in a time ſo full of diſtraction, he thought no man fitter to govern than* Pompey. This counſel was unanimouſly approved of, and a decree was paſſed, that *Pompey* ſhould be made ſole Conſul, and that if he thought it neceſſary to have a collegue, he might chuſe whom he pleaſed, provided it were not till after two months were expired.

Thus

O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the ſtarry plain,
Etherial Jove *extends his high domain.*
My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
And huſh the roarings of the ſacred deep.
Pope.

(7) This

Thus was *Pompey* created and declared ſole Conſul by *Sulpitius*, who was *Interrex* during this vacancy. Upon this he addreſſed himſelf with great kindneſs and reſpect to *Cato*, thanking him for the honour he had done him, and deſiring his aſſiſtance and advice in the adminiſtration of the government. To this *Cato* replied, *That* Pompey *had no reaſon to thank him, ſince all that he had ſaid, was in favour of the commonwealth, not of* Pompey; *that he would be always ready to give him his advice in private if he deſired it, but that he would be ſure to ſpeak in publick what he thought was for the intereſt of the commonwealth.* Such was *Cato* throughout his whole conduct.

Pompey upon his return into the city married *Cornelia* the daughter of (7) *Metellus Scipio*. She was not a virgin, but the widow of *Publius* the ſon of *Craſſus*, to whom ſhe had been married when very young, and who died in the *Parthian* expedition. She had many charms beſide her youth and beauty; for ſhe was well ſkilled in polite literature, in muſick and geometry, and read with profit the precepts of philoſophy. But that which crowned all the reſt was the modeſty and humility of her behaviour, free from that pride and petulance which is frequently found in young women who are poſſeſſed of ſuch qualifications. Her father alſo was very conſiderable, both on account of his family and his perſonal virtues. However, this unequal match was not pleaſing to ſome people; for *Cornelia*'s age was more ſuitable to that of *Pompey*'s ſon than to his own. Beſide this, the wiſer ſort thought the concerns of the city quite neglected, while he (to whom alone they had committed themſelves, and from whom alone, as from their phyſician, they expected the cure of their preſent diſorders) was crowned with garlands, and revelling in his

(7) This *Scipio* was the ſon of *Scipio* ſurnamed *Naſica*, but being adopted into the family of the *Metelli*, he was called *Metellus Scipio*.

(8) This was *T. Munatius Plancus Burſa*, who was accuſed by *Cicero*, and condemned in ſpite

his nuptial feaſts, not conſidering that this Conſulſhip was a publick calamity, and that it would never have been given him ſo contrary to law, had his country been in a flouriſhing ſtate. At firſt he took cognizance of thoſe who obtained offices by gifts and bribery, and enacted laws for regulating their trials; and in every other part of his office he behaved with great dignity and integrity; ſo that he reſtored ſecurity, order and tranquillity to their courts of judicature, himſelf attending there with a band of ſoldiers. But when his father-in-law *Scipio* was accuſed, he ſent for the three hundred and ſixty judges to his houſe, and entreated them to be favourable to him; and his accuſer, ſeeing *Scipio* conducted out of the *Forum* to his houſe by the judges themſelves, deſiſted from the proſecution. *Pompey* was very much cenſured on this account; and ſtill more in the caſe of *Plancus*; for whereas he himſelf had made a law to forbid any man in the courſe of his pleading from launching out in praiſe of the accuſed, yet he came into court when an accuſation was brought againſt (8) *Plancus*, and ſpoke openly in commendation of him. *Cato* (who happened to be one of the judges) ſtopping his ears with his hands, told him, *He could not in honour hear a commendation which was contrary to law.* Upon this *Cato* was ſet aſide from being a judge, before ſentence was given; notwithſtanding which, *Plancus* was condemned by the unanimous vote of the reſt of the judges, to *Pompey*'s great confuſion and diſhonour. Shortly after *Hypſeus*, a man of conſular dignity, when a proſecution was commenced againſt him, waited for *Pompey*'s return from his bath to ſupper, and falling down at his feet, implored his favour; but he diſdainfully paſſed by, ſaying, *That his importunities ſerved for nothing but to ſpoil his ſupper.* This partiality

ſpite of *Pompey*'s protection, and the great commendations he gave him in court. *Cicero* was ſo pleaſed with his ſucceſs in that cauſe that he could not forbear teſtifying the joy it gave him, in a letter to *Marius*. *Epiſt. 2. lib. 7.*

(9) There

partiality in *Pompey* was highly condemned; however he managed all other things in a regular and unexceptionable manner, and choſe his father-in-law to be his collegue in the Conſulſhip for the laſt five months. His provinces were continued to him for four years longer, with a commiſſion to take a thouſand talents yearly out of the treaſury for the payment of his army.

This gave occaſion to ſome of *Cæſar*'s friends to demand that ſome conſideration ſhould be had of him too, who had done ſuch ſignal ſervices in war, and fought ſo many battles for the ſervice of the commonwealth, alledging, that he deſerved to obtain a ſecond Conſulſhip, or to have his government in the province where he had fought, continued, that he might command alone and enjoy in peace what he had acquired by war, and that no ſucceſſor might reap the fruits of his labour, and raiſe his fame upon the glory of *Cæſar*'s actions. As this affair occaſioned ſome debate, *Pompey* took upon him, as it were out of kindneſs to *Cæſar*, to allay the indignation which that demand had raiſed in the people, and accordingly told them that he had received a letter from *Cæſar*, wherein he deſired to have a ſucceſſor, and to be diſcharged from the war, but ſaid that it was reaſonable that he ſhould have leave to ſtand for the Conſulſhip though in his abſence (9). But *Cato* oppoſed this, ſaying, *That if he expected any favour from the citizens, he ought to leave his army, and come in a private capacity to ſue for it.* *Pompey* made no reply; and as he ſeemed ſo eaſily ſatisfied, he gave a greater ſuſpicion of his real diſpoſition towards *Cæſar*, eſpecially when under pretence of the *Parthian* war he ſent for his two legions which he had lent him; however *Cæſar*, though he well knew for what deſign he wanted them, ſent them home very liberally rewarded.

Some

(9) There was a law by which perſons abſent were forbid to put up for the Conſulſhip. But *Pompey* added this clauſe to it, *except ſuch as were allowed by name*; by which the law was rendered

Some time after this *Pompey* recovered of a dangerous fit of ſickneſs which ſeized him at *Naples*; and the whole city, upon the perſuaſion of *Praxagoras*, offered ſacrifices to the Gods for his recovery. The neighbouring towns followed their example, and by degrees all *Italy* did the ſame; ſo that there was not a city either great or ſmall, that did not feaſt and rejoice for many days together. And the number of thoſe that came from all parts to meet him was ſo great, that no place was able to contain them; but the villages, ſea-port towns, and highways were all full of people feaſting and ſacrificing to the Gods. Many went to meet him with garlands on their heads, and tapers in their hands, caſting flowers upon him as he went along; ſo that his journey with ſuch an attendance afforded a moſt magnificent ſpectacle. It is thought however, that this very thing was not one of the leaſt cauſes of the civil war; for the extravagant rejoicings of the people on this occaſion ſo inflamed the pride and vanity which *Pompey*'s former ſucceſſes had kindled in him, that throwing aſide that caution which had hitherto given ſuch ſafety and ſtability to his good fortune, he gave way to a preſumptuous confidence, and entertained a contempt of *Cæſar*, as though he could overcome him without arms, and without any laborious effort, and pull him down much more eaſily than he had raiſed him. Beſides, *Appius*, who was juſt returned from *Gaul* with the legions *Pompey* had lent to *Cæſar*, very much diſparaged his actions there, and raiſed many ſcandalous reports of *Cæſar*, telling *Pompey*, *That he was unacquainted with his own ſtrength and reputation, if he made uſe of any other forces againſt* Cæſar *than the very legions he ſhould bring with him; for ſuch was the ſoldiers hatred to* Cæſar, *and love to* Pompey, *that they would all come over to him upon his firſt appearance.* By theſe flatteries

Pompey

rendered intirely inſignificant. For they who had the power in their hands, and were at the head of armies, would never fail of gaining ſuch a permiſſion.

(1) We

Pompey was ſtrangely elated; and his confidence rendered him ſo negligent, that he laughed at thoſe who ſeemed to fear a war. And when ſome were ſaying, that if *Cæſar* ſhould turn his forces againſt the city, they could not ſee what power was able to reſiſt him, he ſmiled, and with great unconcern bid them take no care of that, *for*, ſaid he, *Whenever I ſtamp upon the ground in any part of* Italy, *there will riſe up forces enough in an inſtant both horſe and foot.*

Cæſar on the other ſide was more vigorous in his proceedings. He was now not far diſtant from *Italy*, and was continually ſending ſome of his ſoldiers into the city to attend at all elections: beſide this, he corrupted ſeveral of the magiſtrates with money, and brought them over to his party. Among theſe *Paulus* the Conſul was gained by a bribe of fifteen hundred talents, and *Curio*, a tribune of the people, by a diſcharge of all his debts, which were immenſely great, and *Mark Anthony*, who out of friendſhip to *Curio* was bound with him for the payment. It is ſaid that a centurion of *Cæſar*'s waiting at the ſenate-houſe, and hearing that the ſenate refuſed to give him a longer term to continue in his government, clapt his hand upon his ſword, and ſaid, *But this ſhall give it.* And indeed all his practices and preparations were in order to this end: though *Curio*'s demands and requeſts in favour of *Cæſar* ſeemed much more moderate and plauſible; for he only deſired one of theſe two things, either that *Pompey* ſhould diſband his army, or that *Cæſar* ſhould be allowed to keep his on foot. *For*, ſaid he, *if both of them are unarmed, and reduced to a private ſtate, they will come to an agreement on reaſonable terms; or if they are both in equal authority, they will be a balance to each other, and ſit down contented with their lot: but he that weakens one, does at the ſame time ſtrengthen the other, and ſo doubles*

(1) We are aſſured of the contrary by *Dion*, who tells us that there was not one who was for *Pompey*'s laying down his arms, and that there were but two perſons who voted for *Cæſar*;

doubles that power which he ſtood in fear of before. *Marcellus* the Conſul only replied to this, that *Cæſar was a robber, and ſhould be proclaimed an enemy to the ſtate if he did not diſband his army.* However *Curio* with the aſſiſtance of *Anthony* and *Piſo* obtained that the matter in debate ſhould be decided by the votes of the ſenate. Accordingly thoſe being ordered to withdraw who were of opinion, *That* Cæſar *only ſhould lay down his army and* Pompey *command*, the majority withdrew. But when it was ordered again for thoſe to withdraw whoſe vote was, *That both ſhould lay down their arms, and neither command*, there were but twenty-two for *Pompey*, all the reſt remaining on *Curio*'s ſide (1). Whereupon he, tranſported with joy, and proud of his conqueſt, ran out among the people, who received him with great applauſe, clapping their hands, and crowning him with garlands and flowers. *Pompey* was not then preſent in the ſenate, it being unlawful for the General of an army to come into the city: but *Marcellus* riſing up, ſaid, *That he would not ſit there hearing ſpeeches, when he ſaw that ten legions had already paſſed the* Alps *in their march toward the city, but that he would ſend a man of equal authority againſt them in defence of their country.* Upon this the city went into mourning as in a publick calamity, and *Marcellus* (accompanied by the ſenate) went through the city towards *Pompey*, and when he came up to him, ſpoke thus; Pompey, *I command thee to appear in defence of thy country with thoſe forces thou haſt at preſent in readineſs, and to raiſe more with all ſpeed.* *Lentulus*, one of the Conſuls elect for the year following, ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe. But *Anthony*, much againſt the will of the ſenate, in a publick aſſembly read a letter of *Cæſar*'s containing ſome propoſals which were extremely well adapted to gain the favour of the multitude; for he deſired, that both *Pompey*

Cæſar; one of theſe was called *Marcus Cæcilius*, and the other was *Curio*, he who brought the letters from *Cæſar*.

(2) *Lucius*

Pompey and he quitting their governments, and diſmiſſing their armies, ſhould ſubmit to the judgment of the people, and give an account of their actions before them; ſo that when *Pompey* began to make his levies, and muſter up his new raiſed ſoldiers, he found himſelf diſappointed in his expectations: ſome few indeed came in, but thoſe very unwillingly; others would not anſwer to their names, and the generality cried out for peace. *Lentulus*, notwithſtanding he was now entered upon his Conſulſhip, would not aſſemble the ſenate; for *Cicero*, who was lately returned from *Cilicia*, laboured to bring about a reconciliation, propoſing, that *Cæſar* ſhould leave his province of *Gaul* and diſband his army, reſerving two legions only, together with the government of *Illyricum*, and be nominated for a ſecond Conſulſhip. As *Pompey* diſliked this motion, *Cæſar*'s friends were contented that he ſhould retain one legion only; but *Lentulus* oppoſed this, and *Cato* cried out, *That* Pompey *was much to blame for being thus impoſed upon*; ſo that the reconciliation did not take effect.

In the mean time news was brought that *Cæſar* had taken *Ariminum*, a great city in *Italy*, and was marching directly towards *Rome* with all his forces: but this latter circumſtance was falſe, for he had no more with him at that time than three hundred horſe and five thouſand foot, and would not wait for the body of his army, which lay beyond the *Alps*, chuſing rather to ſurprize his enemies while they were in confuſion and did not expect him, than by waiting for the reſt of his army to give them time to make preparations for war. For when he was arrived at the banks of the *Rubicon*, which was the boundary of his province, he there made a halt, and for ſome time ſtood ſilent pondering in his mind the greatneſs of this daring enterprize. At length (like men who ſhutting their eyes caſt themſelves headlong from a precipice

(2) *Lucius Volcatius Tullus.*

(3) *Pla-*

precipice into ſome vaſt yawning gulf) throwing a veil over every thought of danger, he cried out aloud in the *Greek* language to thoſe about him, *Let the die be thrown*, and immediately paſt the river with his army. No ſooner was the news arrived, but there was a tumult and conſternation in the city, ſuch as never was known in *Rome* before. All the ſenate and the magiſtrates ran immediately to *Pompey*; and when *Tullus* (2) aſked him what forces he had in readineſs for their defence, he ſeemed to pauſe a little, and anſwered with ſome heſitation, *That he had thoſe two legions ready that* Cæſar *ſent back, and for his new raiſed forces, he believed they would ſhortly make up a body of thirty thouſand men*; but *Tullus* replied with a loud voice, *O Pompey, thou haſt deceived us!* and immediately gave his advice to diſpatch ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*. *Favonius*, (who was not otherwiſe a bad man, but affecting to imitate *Cato*'s freedom of ſpeech, indulged himſelf in a petulant and abuſive manner of talking) bid *Pompey ſtamp upon the ground, and call forth the forces he had promiſed.* But *Pompey* very patiently bore this unſeaſonable raillery; and when *Cato* put him in mind of what he had foretold from the beginning concerning *Cæſar*, he made this anſwer only, *That* Cato *indeed had ſpoke more like a prophet, but he had acted more like a friend.* *Cato* then adviſed them to chuſe *Pompey* General with abſolute power, ſaying, *That thoſe who are the authors of great evils, know beſt how to cure them.* He therefore went immediately into *Sicily*, the province that was allotted him; and all the reſt of the ſenators likewiſe departed every one to his reſpective government.

Thus almoſt all *Italy* being in arms, it ſeemed very doubtful what was beſt to be done: for they that were without, came from all parts flocking into the city; and the inhabitants of the city ſeeing the confuſion and diſorder ſo great there, went out and forſook it as faſt: they that were willing to obey were found too weak, and the diſobedient were too ſtrong to be governed

governed by the magiſtrates. For it was impoſſible to allay the fears of the people; nor would they ſuffer *Pompey* to follow his own judgment, every man preſſing him to act according to his particular fancy, whether it proceeded from doubt, fear, or grief; ſo that even in the ſame day he took contrary reſolutions. Beſides, it was altogether as impoſſible to have any good intelligence of the enemy; for what one man reported was contradicted by another, and they both were offended with *Pompey* if he did not believe them.

Pompey at length having proclaimed by an edict that the ſtate was in danger, commanded all the ſenate to follow him, declaring, *That whoſoever ſtaid behind ſhould be judged a confederate of* Cæſar; and about the duſk of the evening he left the city. The Conſuls alſo followed after in a hurry, without offering any ſacrifice to the Gods, as was uſual before a war. In the midſt of all theſe calamities, *Pompey* could not but think himſelf extremely fortunate in the univerſal love and good-will of the people; for though many condemned the war, yet no man hated the General; ſo that there were more to be found of thoſe who went out of *Rome* becauſe they could not forſake *Pompey*, than of thoſe who left it for the ſake of liberty.

A few days after this *Cæſar* arrived at *Rome*, and made himſelf maſter of it, treating all that were left behind with great humanity, which ſerved to allay their fears and apprehenſions. But when *Metellus*, one of the tribunes, oppoſed his taking any of the money out of the publick treaſury, *Cæſar* threatened to kill him, adding an expreſſion ſtill more terrible than his threats, *That it was eaſier for him to do it than ſay it.* By this means removing *Metellus*, and ſupplying himſelf with as much money as he wanted, he ſet

(3) *Plutarch* takes no notice of what paſſed during the ſiege of *Brunduſium*, which held out nine days; and yet it deſerved to

ſet forwards in purſuit of *Pompey*, endeavouring with all ſpeed to drive him out of *Italy*, before his army, that was in *Spain*, could join with him.

But *Pompey* arriving at *Brunduſium*, and having provided a fleet of ſhips there, ordered the two Conſuls to embark immediately, together with thirty cohorts, and ſent them before him to *Dyrrachium*. He ſent likewiſe his father-in-law *Scipio*, and *Cnæus* his ſon into *Syria*, to provide a fleet there. In the mean time (3) having barred up the gates of the city, he placed his lighteſt armed ſoldiers as guards upon the walls; and giving expreſs orders that the citizens ſhould keep within doors, he dug trenches (in which he fixed a great number of ſharp ſtakes) throughout all the ſtreets of the city, except only thoſe two which lead down to the haven.

Having in three days time put all the reſt of his army on board without any interruption, he ſuddenly gave the ſignal to thoſe who guarded the walls, who nimbly repairing to the ſhips, immediately embarked and ſet ſail. *Cæſar*, when he perceived the walls unguarded, imagining that the enemy was fled, made haſte after them, and in the heat of the purſuit had like to have fallen upon the ſtakes in the trenches; but the *Brunduſians* diſcovering the danger to him, and ſhowing him the way, he fetched a compaſs round the city, and made towards the haven, where he found all the fleet under ſail, excepting only two veſſels that had but a few ſoldiers aboard.

Some are of opinion, that this departure of *Pompey* is to be reckoned among the beſt of his ſtratagems; but *Cæſar* himſelf could not but wonder that he who was in poſſeſſion of a ſtrong city, who expected his forces from *Spain*, and was maſter of the ſea beſides, ſhould abandon *Italy*. *Cicero* likewiſe blamed him, for imitating the conduct of *Themiſtocles*, rather than that

to be mentioned, as it is by *Cæſar* in the firſt book of the civil wars.

that of *Pericles* (4), whereas the ſtate of his affairs more reſembled the circumſtances of the latter, than thoſe of the former. However *Cæſar* ſhowed plainly by his actions, that he greatly feared what length of time might produce, for when he had taken priſoner *Numerius* (5) a friend of *Pompey*, he ſent him to *Brunduſium*, with offers of peace and reconciliation upon equal terms; but *Numerius* ſailed away with *Pompey*. And now *Cæſar* having made himſelf maſter of all *Italy* in ſixty days, without bloodſhed, was deſirous to purſue *Pompey* immediately; but being deſtitute of ſhipping, he was forced to divert his courſe, aud march into *Spain*, deſigning to join the forces *Pompey* had there to his own.

In the mean time *Pompey* had raiſed a great army both by ſea and land. As for his navy, it was altogether invincible, for there were five hundred ſhips of war, beſides an infinite number of ſmall light veſſels. As for his land forces, the cavalry conſiſted of ſeven thouſand horſe, (6) the flower of *Rome* and *Italy*, being all men of conſiderable family and fortune, and of great courage; but the infantry was a mixture of raw and unexperienced ſoldiers, and therefore he exerciſed them daily while he remained at *Beræa*, where he himſelf was not idle, but performed all his exerciſes as if he had been in the flower of his youth. This raiſed the ſpirits of his ſoldiers extremely, for it was no ſmall encouragement to them to ſee *Pompey the Great*, at the age of fifty-eight years, ſometimes exerciſing in his armour on foot, and ſometimes when mounted on horſeback drawing out his

(4) *Ep. ad Att. L.* vii. *Ep.* xi.

(5) *Cæſar* calls him *Cneius Magius.*

(6) But *Cæſar* ſays that this choice body of horſe was almoſt entirely compoſed of ſtrangers. *There were*, ſays he, *ſix hundred* Galatians, *five hundred* Cappadocians, *as many* Thracians, *two hundred* Macedonians, *five hundred* Gauls, *or* Germans, *eight hundred men raiſed out of his own eſtates, or out of his retinue*, and ſo of the reſt, whom he particularly mentions, and tells us to what countries they belonged.

(7) It ſeemed very ſtrange, ſays

his ſword with eaſe in full career, and ſheathing it again as eaſily; and in darting the javelin, he ſhowed not only his ſkill and dexterity in hitting the mark, but his ſtrength and activity in throwing it ſo far, that few of the youngeſt went beyond him.

Several kings and princes of other nations came thither to him; but the *Roman* magiſtrates were ſo numerous, that they made up a compleat ſenate. (7) *Labienus* forſook his old benefactor *Cæſar*, (whom he had ſerved throughout all his wars in *Gaul*) and came over to *Pompey*; and *Brutus* the ſon of that *Brutus* who was put to death in *Galatia*, a man of great ſpirit, and who to that day had never ſo much as ſaluted or ſpoke to *Pompey*, (looking upon him as the murderer of his father) came then and ſubmitted himſelf to him as the defender of their liberty. *Cicero* likewiſe, though he had wrote and adviſed otherwiſe, yet was aſhamed not to be accounted in the number of thoſe who were ready to hazard their lives for the ſafety of their country. And laſt of all there came to him in *Macedonia*, *Tidius Sextius*, a man extremely old, and lame of one leg; others indeed laughed at the ſpectacle, but *Pompey*, as ſoon as he ſaw him, roſe and ran to meet him, eſteeming it no ſmall teſtimony of the goodneſs of his cauſe, that men of ſuch age and infirmities ſhould rather chuſe to be with him in danger, than in ſafety at home. Afterwards, the ſenate being aſſembled, it was decreed upon *Cato*'s motion, *That no* Roman *citizen ſhould be put to death but in battle, and that they ſhould not ſack or plunder any city that was ſubject to the* Roman *empire.*

By

(7) *Labienus* forſook his old benefactor *Cæſar*, &c.] ſays *Dion*, that *Labienus* could quit the intereſt of *Cæſar*, who had loaden him with honours, and made him commander in chief of all the forces on the other ſide of the *Alps*, whilſt he was at *Rome*. But he gives this reaſon for it. Labienus, *pampered with wealth and preferments, forgot himſelf ſo far, as to aſſume a carriage very unbecoming a perſon in his circumſtances; ſo that when* Cæſar *perceived he was for putting himſelf upon an equal foot with him, he grew cool towards him, and treated him with ſome reſerve, which* Labienus *reſenting went over to* Pompey.

By this *Pompey*'s party grew into ſtill greater reputation, ſo that they who were not at all concerned in the war, either becauſe they dwelt afar off, or were incapable by reaſon of their infirmities, were yet in their opinions of his ſide, and did in all their diſcourſes fight for him, eſteeming his cauſe to be juſt, and looking upon thoſe as enemies both to Gods and men, who wiſhed not victory to *Pompey*.

Cæſar however ſhowed no leſs moderation and humanity in his ſucceſs; for when he had defeated *Pompey*'s forces in *Spain*, he left the commanders at their liberty, and took the common ſoldiers into his own pay. Then repaſſing the *Alps*, and marching through *Italy*, he came to *Brunduſium* about the winter ſolſtice, and croſſing the ſea there, landed near *Oricum*, from whence he diſpatched *Vibullius Rufus*, an intimate friend of *Pompey*, whom he had taken in *Spain*, and brought from thence with him. He had orders to repair to *Pompey*, and propoſe a conference, wherein they ſhould both agree to diſband their armies in three days, to renew their former friendſhip with ſolemn oaths, and return together into *Italy*. (8) *Pompey* again looked upon this as ſome new ſtratagem; and therefore marching down in all haſte towards the ſea-coaſt, he poſſeſſed himſelf of all the forts and places of ſtrength fit to encamp in, and ſecure his land forces, as likewiſe of all the ports and commodious ſtations for ſhips, ſo that whatever wind blew, it was neceſſarily favourable to him, bringing in either proviſion, men, or money. But *Cæſar* on the contrary was ſo diſtreſſed both by ſea and land, that he was forced to deſire a battle, daily provoking the enemy, and aſſailing them in their very forts. In theſe light ſkirmiſhes he for the moſt part had the advantage; but once he was in danger of being totally defeated and loſing his whole army; for *Pompey* having

(8) *Pompey* was then in *Candavia*, as he was marching out of *Macedonia* to put his troops into winter quarters at *Dyr-*

having fought with great reſolution, put his men to flight, and killed two thouſand upon the place; but either he was not able, or he was afraid to force his way together with them into their camp. Upon which *Cæſar* ſaid to his friends, *That that day would have given an abſolute conqueſt to the enemy, if they had had a man at their head who knew how to conquer.* *Pompey*'s ſoldiers were ſo encouraged by this victory, that they were earneſtly deſirous to come to a deciſive engagement. But *Pompey* himſelf, though he wrote to foreign kings, princes, and ſtates, as if he were already conqueror, yet was afraid to hazard the ſucceſs of a battle, chuſing rather by delays, and want of proviſions, to tire out thoſe who had never yet been conquered by force of arms, but had always, when they fought in a body, been accuſtomed to victory. Beſides, the infirmities of their age now made them quickly weary of thoſe other hardſhips of war, ſuch as long marches, frequent decampments, making of trenches, and building of fortifications; ſo that they were eager to venture a battle with all ſpeed.

Pompey had hitherto by his perſuaſions pretty well quieted his ſoldiers; but after this laſt engagement, when *Cæſar* for want of proviſions was forced to raiſe his camp, and had paſſed through *Athamania* into *Theſſaly*, it was impoſſible to curb their ſpirits any longer. For all crying out with one voice, Cæſar *is fled*, ſome were for purſuing him, others for returning into *Italy*; and ſome ſent their friends and ſervants before-hand into *Rome*, to hire houſes near the *Forum*, that they might be in readineſs to ſue for offices in the government. Several went of their own accord to *Cornelia*, who had been privately ſent to *Leſbos* by *Pompey*, and congratulated her upon the concluſion of the war. A council of war being called, *Afranius* was of opinion, *That* Italy *ſhould firſt be regained, as that*

Dyrrachium, and *Apollonia*.

that was the great prize for which they fought; beſides, they who were in poſſeſſion of that, would quickly be maſters of Sicily, Sardinia, Corſica, Spain, *and* Gaul; *but what was of the greateſt moment, their native country lay near, ſtretching out her hands for help; and certainly it could not be conſiſtent with* Pompey's *honour to leave her thus expoſed to every kind of indignity, and in bondage to the ſlaves and flatterers of a tyrant.* But *Pompey* himſelf, on the contrary, *thought it neither honourable to fly a ſecond time before* Cæſar, *and be purſued, when fortune had given him the advantage of a purſuit; nor indeed lawful to forſake* Scipio *his father-in-law, and many others of conſular dignity diſperſed throughout* Greece *and* Theſſaly, *who muſt neceſſarily fall into* Cæſar's *hands, together with all their wealth and forces. And as to his care for the city of* Rome, *that,* he ſaid, *would moſt eminently appear, by fighting in her behalf at a diſtance, whereby ſhe being every way inſenſible of thoſe calamities that attend a war, might in peace expect the return of the conqueror.*

This being determined, *Pompey* marched forwards in purſuit of *Cæſar*, firmly reſolved not to give him battle, but rather to beſiege and diſtreſs him, by following him cloſe, ſtraitening his quarters, and cutting off his ſupplies. For beſide other reaſons that made him form this reſolution, he heard of a combination among the *Roman* knights, who deſigned as ſoon as *Cæſar* was overthrown, to humble him too; and therefore ſome report, it was on this account that *Pompey* never employed *Cato* in any matter of conſequence during the whole war; and now when he purſued *Cæſar*, he left him to guard his baggage on the coaſt, fearing leſt, after *Cæſar* was ſubdued, he likewiſe ſhould ſoon be forced by *Cato* to lay down his authority.

Whilſt

(9) *Cæſar* has put this folly of *Pompey*'s officers in a very good light, *lib.* 3. They wrangled and diſputed about the rewards they were to have, and the prieſts offices. Some named the perſons who were to ſucceed annually in the Conſulſhip for the enſuing

Whilſt he was thus ſlowly attending the motions of the enemy, he was loudly accuſed of deſigning not ſo much to circumvent *Cæſar* as his country and the ſenate, that he might always continue in authority, and keep thoſe for his guards and ſervants, who themſelves were worthy to govern the world. Beſides, *Domitius Ænobarbus*, by continually calling him *Agamemnon*, and *King of Kings*, rendered him very odious. Nor was *Favonius*'s raillery leſs offenſive than the unſeaſonable liberty of ſpeech taken by others, when in drollery he cried out, *My friends, you muſt not expect to gather any figs in* Tuſculum *this year*. And *Lucius Afranius*, who had lain under an imputation of treachery for betraying the army in *Spain*, when he perceived that *Pompey* induſtriouſly declined an engagement, ſaid, *That he could not but admire why they who were ſo ready to accuſe him, did not go themſelves and fight that merchant, as they called him.*

By theſe and many other ſuch ſpeeches, *Pompey*, whoſe ſenſe of honour was ſo tender that he could not endure reproach, and whoſe reſpect for his friends would not ſuffer him to reſiſt their importunity, was induced, contrary to his better judgment, to follow their vain hopes and deſires; a conduct inexcuſable in the pilot of a ſhip, but how much more in the ſovereign commander of ſuch an army, and ſo many nations! But he, though he had often commended thoſe phyſicians who did not comply with the humorous appetites of their patients, yet could not himſelf deny the requeſt of the diſeaſed part of his army, rather than uſe any ſeverity in the cure. And indeed who would not judge it inſanity in thoſe men, who went up and down the camp, ſuing already for the offices of Conſul and Prætor? (9) Nay *Spinther*, *Domitius*,

enſuing years; others put in for the forfeited eſtates of thoſe who followed *Cæſar*. And it was warmly debated in council, whether regard ſhould be had to *L. Hirtius*, whom *Pompey* had ſent againſt the *Parthians*, and whether he might be choſen

tius, and *Scipio*, made friends, raiſed factions, and even quarrelled among themſelves, who ſhould ſucceed *Cæſar* in the dignity of his High-prieſthood, as if they were to engage only with *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, or ſome petty *Nabathæan* King, not with that *Cæſar* and his army that had ſtormed a thouſand towns, and ſubdued more than three hundred ſeveral nations, that had obtained the victory in innumerable engagements with the *Germans* and *Gauls*, that had taken a million of men priſoners, and ſlain as many upon the ſpot in pitched battles.

But as ſoon as they came to the fields of *Pharſalia*, they grew very tumultuous, ſo that they forced him by their importunities to call a council of war, where *Labienus* General of the horſe ſtood up, and firſt ſolemnly ſwore, *That he would not return out of the battle till he had put the enemy to flight*; and all the reſt took the ſame oath. That night *Pompey* dreamed, *that as he went into the theatre, the people received him with great applauſe, and that he adorned the temple of* Venus the Victorious *with many ſpoils.* This viſion partly encouraged, and partly diſheartened him; for he feared leſt he ſhould contribute to raiſe the glory and reputation of *Cæſar* who was a deſcendant of *Venus.* Beſides, a panick fear ran through the camp, with ſuch a noiſe that it awaked him out of his ſleep. And about the morning watch there appeared over *Cæſar*'s camp,

Prætor in his abſence. His friends and relations urged *Pompey*'s promiſe in his behalf, and inſiſted that he who relied on the General's honour ſhould not be deceived. *Domitius*, *Lentulus*, and *Scipio*, diſputed with great vehemence, each putting in his claim to *Cæſar*'s prieſthood. *Lentulus* founded his pretenſions upon the reſpect due to his age, *Domitius* upon his intereſt and authority at *Rome*, and *Scipio* upon his alliance with *Pompey*.

(1) *Cæſar* finding that he could by no means bring *Pompey* to an engagement, thought it moſt advantageous to remove, and always be upon the march; for he hoped that by his frequent decampments he might eaſier provide for the ſubſiſtance of his army, harraſs that of the enemy, and perhaps meet with a favourable opportunity of fighting. This reſolution being taken, he gave the ſignal for decamping.

(2) This

camp, where every thing was perfectly ſtill, a great light, and from thence a ſtream of fire like a flaming torch ſhot forth and darted down upon the camp of *Pompey*; *Cæſar* himſelf ſays that he ſaw it as he was walking his rounds.

(1) While *Cæſar* was preparing to raiſe his camp early in the morning in order to march to *Scotuſa*, and the ſoldiers were buſy in pulling down their tents, and ſending away their cattle and ſervants before them with all their baggage, ſome ſcouts came in who brought word, that they ſaw arms carried to and fro in the enemy's camp, and heard a noiſe and tumult as of men preparing for battle. Not long after other ſcouts came in with further intelligence, that the firſt ranks were already drawn up in order of battle. *Cæſar* therefore, when he had told them, *That the wiſh'd-for day was now come, wherein they ſhould fight with men, not with want and hunger*, immediately gave orders for the red mantle to be hung up before his tent; for that was uſually the ſign of battle among the *Romans*. As ſoon as the ſoldiers ſaw it, they left their tents, and with great ſhouts of joy ran to their arms. The officers likewiſe on their parts drawing up their men in order of battle, every one fell into his proper rank without any trouble or noiſe, as quietly and orderly as if they had been a chorus upon the ſtage. (2) *Pompey* himſelf led up the right wing of his army againſt *Anthony*,

(2) This order of battle, ſuch as we find it deſcribed here by *Plutarch*, is quite contrary to that *Cæſar* himſelf gives of it in *lib.* 3. *Cæſar* upon his approach towards *Pompey*'s camp, found he had made the following diſpoſition of his forces. *Pompey* was on the left with the two legions *Cæſar* had returned to him at the beginning of the war. *Scipio* was in the middle with the *Syrian* legions. The *Cilician* legion, and the cohorts brought out of *Spain* by *Afranius*, were in the right, which was defended by a river of very difficult acceſs; for this reaſon *Pompey* placed all his cavalry, ſlingers, and archers in the left. The whole amounted to forty-five thouſand men, contained in a hundred and ten cohorts. *Cæſar*'s army was drawn up in the following order. The tenth legion was according to cuſtom placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as that had

Anthony, and placed his father-in-law *Scipio* in the center overagainſt *Lucius Albinus*. The left wing was commanded by *Lucius Domitius*, and ſupported by a great number of horſe; for almoſt the whole cavalry was placed there to diſtreſs *Cæſar*, and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the moſt firm and reſolute in all the army, and in which *Cæſar* himſelf always fought in perſon. *Cæſar* obſerving the left wing of the enemy to be lined and guarded with ſuch a ſtrong body of horſe, and fearing the glitter of their armour, ſent for a detachment of ſix cohorts from the rear, and placed them behind the tenth legion, commanding them not to ſtir, leſt they ſhould be diſcovered by the enemy, but as ſoon as the enemy's horſe had charged, to make up with all ſpeed to the front through the foremoſt ranks, and not to throw their javelins at a diſtance, (as is uſual with the braveſt ſoldiers, that they may come to a cloſe fight with their ſwords the ſooner) but to ſtrike them upwards into the eyes and faces of the enemy; telling them, *That thoſe fair young dancers would never endure the ſteel ſhining in their eyes, but would fly to ſave their handſome faces.* While *Cæſar* was thus employed, *Pompey* on horſeback was viewing the order of both armies; and when

had been conſiderably weakened by the actions at *Dyrrachium*, he placed the eighth legion ſo near to it, as to be able to ſupport, and reinforce it upon occaſion. The reſt of his forces filled up the ſpace between thoſe two wings. *Anthony* commanded on the left wing, *Sylla* on the right, and the main body was under the command of *Domitius*. As for *Cæſar*, he poſted himſelf on the right overagainſt *Pompey*. *Appian*'s account of the diſpoſition of the two armies differs from both theſe. One would hardly believe it poſſible that there could be any contradictory accounts of this battle of *Pharſalia*, which decided the fate of the univerſe. It is ſtill more extraordinary that the account *Cæſar* has left of it himſelf ſhould meet with a contradiction. Surely his evidence muſt be of the greateſt authority.

(3) *There was juſt as much ſpace between the two armies, as was ſufficient for both to meet and charge; but* Pompey *had ordered his men to receive the enemy's onſet without ſtirring, till* Cæſar's *army by charging firſt ſhould be diſordered*

when he ſaw how well the enemy kept their ranks, expecting quietly the ſignal of battle, and on the contrary how impatient and unſteady his own men were, moving up and down in great diſorder for want of experience, he was very much afraid that their ranks would be broken upon the firſt onſet; he therefore gave ſtrict orders, that the vanguard ſhould make a ſtand, and keeping cloſe in their ranks ſhould receive the enemy's charge. (3) But *Cæſar* very much condemned this order as not only tending to weaken the vigour of the ſoldiers blows, which is always greateſt in thoſe who give the onſet, but alſo to damp the martial fire and ſpirit of the men themſelves, whoſe breaſts glow with a kind of enthuſiaſtick valour when heated by their rapid courſe in the aſſault, and animated by the chearful ſhouts of their companions.

Cæſar's army conſiſted of twenty-two thouſand men; and *Pompey*'s of ſomewhat above twice that number. When the ſignal of battle was given on both ſides, and the trumpets began to ſound a charge, the generality of them attended each to his particular buſineſs; only a few of the *Roman* nobility, together with ſome *Grecians* who ſtood as ſpectators of the battle, when they ſaw the armies ready to join, could not

diſordered. This he is ſaid to have done by the advice of Triarius, *that the firſt force and impetuoſity of thoſe troops might be weakened, and their ranks thinned, and that then they who had remained firm in their poſts might attack them with a better effect when they were thus broken and diſperſed. Beſides, he was in hopes that their javelins would do leſs execution if they received them in their poſts, than if they advanced to meet them, and that* Cæſar's *ſoldiers running through the whole ſpace themſelves inſtead of meeting them in the midſt, would come up out of breath and wearied. But in my opinion, this was done without any reaſon: becauſe that vehemence and alacrity which is natural to every man, is inflamed by the eagerneſs and fury of the onſet, and ought not to be checked but rather encouraged by the General. Our anceſtors therefore wiſely ordained that trumpets ſhould ſound on every ſide, and all the ſoldiers raiſe a ſhout, conceiving that thoſe were the moſt proper means to animate their own troops and ſtrike terror into the enemy.* Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. *Lib.* iii.

(4) This

not but conſider with themſelves to what an extremity the emulation and ambition of two men had brought the *Roman* empire; as nothing could more clearly ſhow how blind and mad human nature is when hurried on by paſſion, than the ſight of two armies, both marſhalled by the ſame rules, both uſing the ſame arms and banners, and both conſiſting of the flower and ſtrength of the ſame city, engaging to their mutual deſtruction. For if they had been deſirous only to rule, they might have enjoyed in peace what they had conquered in war, the greateſt and beſt part of the world being ſubject to them both by ſea and land; and if their ambition ſtill thirſted for new trophies and triumphs, the *Parthian* and *German* wars might have yielded matter enough to ſatisfy the moſt covetous of honour: nay, *Scythia* was yet unconquered, and the *Indians* too, where their ambition might be coloured over with the ſpecious pretence of civilizing thoſe barbarous nations; and what *Scythian* horſe, *Parthian* arrows, or *Indian* riches, could be able to reſiſt ſeventy thouſand *Roman* ſoldiers armed well, under the command of two ſuch Generals as *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, whoſe names they had heard of before that of the *Romans?* So wild, ſavage, and ignorant were many of the nations which they had conquered. But now were they oppoſed in battle one againſt the other, to the deſtruction of that very glory to which they ſacrificed their country; for after that day they could not both be eſteemed invincible, as hitherto they had been. So that the alliance contracted betwixt them by *Pompey*'s marriage with *Julia*, muſt be conſidered as having been from the beginning an artful project of two deſigning men for their own intereſt, rather than a pledge of a ſincere friendſhip.

As ſoon as the plains of *Pharſalia* were covered with men, horſes and armour, and the ſignal of battle was given on both ſides, *Caius Craſtinus*, who commanded a body of a hundred and twenty men, was

the firſt that advanced out of *Cæſar*'s army, to give the charge, and acquit himſelf of a ſolemn engagement that he had made to *Cæſar*. For *Cæſar*, as he was going out of his tent in the morning, ſaw *Craſtinus*, and calling to him, aſked him, *What his opinion was concerning the event of that battle?* To which he, ſtretching out his right hand, replied aloud, *Thou ſhalt obtain a ſignal victory*, Cæſar; *and I myſelf this day will be the ſubject of thy praiſe either alive or dead.* In purſuance of this promiſe he broke out of his rank, and being followed by many more, charged into the midſt of his enemies. They came preſently to a cloſe fight with their ſwords, and made a great ſlaughter; but as *Craſtinus* was ſtill preſſing forward, and breaking through the foremoſt ranks, a certain ſoldier ran his ſword into his mouth, ſo that the point of it came out behind at his neck. *Craſtinus* being thus ſlain, the fight became doubtful, and continued equal in that part of the battle.

Pompey had not yet brought on the right wing, but looking earneſtly towards the left, waited to ſee what execution his cavalry would do there. They had already drawn out their ſquadrons in form, deſigning to encompaſs *Cæſar*, and force thoſe few horſe which he had placed in the front, to fall back upon the foot. But as ſoon as *Cæſar* had given the ſignal, his horſe retreated back a little, and made way for thoſe ſix auxiliary cohorts (conſiſting of three thouſand men) which had been poſted in the rear to prevent that wing from being encompaſſed; theſe ruſhed out, and fiercely charged the enemy, ſtriking their javelins upwards, according to their inſtructions, and aiming at their faces. Theſe young men, being unſkilful in any manner of fight, and leaſt of all expecting or underſtanding ſuch a kind as this, had not courage enough to endure the blows upon their faces, but turning their backs, and covering their eyes with their hands, were ſhamefully put to flight. *Cæſar*'s men without purſuing them turned towards the foot,

and

and attacked them on all parts of that wing which lay naked and unguarded by the horſe, ſo that they were preſently environed on every ſide; and now being attacked in the flank by theſe, and in the front by the tenth legion, they were not able to ſtand the charge, or make any longer reſiſtance, finding themſelves encompaſſed by means of that ſcheme which they had laid to ſurround the enemy. Theſe being thus put to flight, *Pompey* by the duſt which he ſaw flying in the air conjectured what was the fate of his cavalry. It would be difficult to expreſs his thoughts at that time; but he looked more like a man aſtoniſhed and diſtracted, than one who ſhould have called to mind that he was *Pompey the Great*. He retired ſlowly towards his camp, without ſpeaking a word to any man, behaving exactly according to the deſcription in theſe verſes of *Homer* (4).

But partial Jove *eſpouſing* Hector's *part*,
Shot heav'n-bred horror through the Grecian's *heart*;
Confus'd, unnerv'd in Hector's *preſence grown*;
Amaz'd he ſtood, with terrors not his own.
O'er his broad back his moony ſhield he threw,
And glaring round by tardy ſteps withrew. Pope.

In this condition he went into his own tent, and ſat down, remaining in a profound ſilence, (5) until ſome of the enemies fell in together with his men that were flying into the camp, and then he ſaid, *What? into the very camp?* And without ſpeaking one word more, he roſe up, and putting on a garment ſuitable to his preſent fortune, departed ſecretly.

By this time the reſt of the army was put to flight, and there was a great ſlaughter in the camp among the

(4) This paſſage is in the eleventh book of the *Iliad*, where *Homer* ſpeaks of *Ajax*'s flight before *Hector*.

(5) For *Cæſar* as ſoon as he had won the battle, immediately attacked the entrenchments, that *Pompey* might not have time to recollect

the ſervants, and thoſe that guarded the tents; but of the ſoldiers themſelves there were not above ſix thouſand ſlain, as it is reported by *Aſinius Pollio*, who was preſent in the action, and fought on *Cæſar*'s ſide (6). When *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers had taken the camp, they ſaw clearly the folly and vanity of the enemy; for all their tents were adorned with garlands of myrtle, and flowered carpets and hangings, their tables were covered with cups, and veſſels of wine were ſet out; and ſuch were their fooliſh hopes and vain confidence, that their whole preparation and furniture was that of people going to feaſt and ſacrifice, rather than of men arming for battle.

When *Pompey* had got a little way from the camp, he quitted his horſe. He had but a ſmall retinue with him; and finding that he was not purſued, he walked on ſoftly afoot, taken up altogether with ſuch thoughts as probably might poſſeſs a man that for the ſpace of thirty-four years together had been accuſtomed to conqueſt and victory, and then in his old age, for the firſt time experienced the misfortune of a defeat, beginning to know the calamities of war in ſlaughter and flight. And it was no ſmall affliction to conſider, that he had loſt in one hour all that glory and power, which he had been acquiring in ſo many wars and battles; and that he who a little before was guarded with ſuch a numerous army of horſe and foot, and with ſo great a fleet, was now flying in ſo mean a condition, and with ſuch a ſlender retinue, that his very enemies who ſought him could not know him.

When he had paſſed by the city of *Lariſſa*, and came into the fields of *Tempe*, being very thirſty, he kneeled down and drank out of the river; then riſing up again, he paſſed through the valley until he came to the

recollect himſelf. Thoſe who were left to guard the camp behaved very bravely, but were at laſt forced to yield.

(6) *Cæſar* ſays that in all there were fifteen thouſand killed, and twenty-four thouſand taken priſoners.

(7) This

the ſea-ſide, and there he betook himſelf to a poor fiſherman's cottage, where he lodged all the remainder of the night. The next morning about break of day he went into a ſmall river-boat, together with all his companions that were freemen, diſmiſſing his ſervants, and adviſing them to go boldly to *Cæſar* and not be afraid. As he was rowing up and down near the ſhore, he ſaw a large ſhip of burden juſt ready to ſail; the maſter of which was *Peticius*, a *Roman* citizen, who though he was not familiarly acquainted with *Pompey*, yet knew him very well by ſight. It happened that this *Peticius* dreamed the night before that he ſaw *Pompey*, not ſuch as he had often ſeen him, but converſing with him in a mean and diſconſolate condition. He was then telling his dream to the paſſengers, (as men commonly do that are at leiſure) when on a ſudden one of the mariners told him that he ſaw a little boat with oars putting off from ſhore, and that ſome of the men there ſhook their garments, and held out their hands, to them. Upon this *Peticius* ſtanding up, knew *Pompey* immediately, ſeeing him in the ſame diſguiſe as he appeared in his dream; and ſtriking his head through grief, he ordered the mariners to let down the ſhip's boat, and ſtretching out his hand, called to him, being already aſſured of the change of his fortune by that of his garb: ſo that without any entreaty or diſcourſe, he took him into his ſhip, together with ſuch of his company as he thought fit, who were the two *Lentuli* and *Favonius*, and then hoiſted ſail. A little after ſeeing King *Deiotarus* making up towards them from the ſhore, they ſtayed and took him in along with them. At ſupper time, the maſter of the ſhip having made ready ſuch proviſions as he had aboard, *Pompey* for want of his ſervants, began to pull off his ſhoes, which when *Favonius* perceived, he ran to him, pulled them off, and anointed him; and he always after continued to wait upon

(7) This is a paſſage of *Euripides*.

(8) This

upon him, as ſervants do upon their maſters, even to the waſhing of his feet, and providing of his ſupper: ſo that one there preſent, obſerving that free and unaffected courteſy in his ſervices, cried out,

O with what nameleſs grace the gen'rous mind
Fulfills whate'er its virtue has deſign'd! (7)

Pompey ſailing by the city of *Amphipolis*, croſſed over from thence to *Mitylene*, with a deſign to take in *Cornelia* and his ſon. As ſoon as he arrived at the port in that iſland, he diſpatched a meſſenger into the city, with news very different from *Cornelia*'s expectation; for ſhe, by all the former meſſages and letters ſent to pleaſe her, had been put in hopes that the war was ended at *Dyrrachium*, and that there was nothing more remaining for *Pompey*, but the purſuit of *Cæſar*. The meſſenger finding her in the ſame hopes ſtill, was not able to ſalute or ſpeak to her, but declaring the greatneſs of her misfortune by his tears rather than by his words, deſired her to make haſte if ſhe would ſee *Pompey*, with one ſhip only, and that not his own. *Cornelia* hearing this, threw herſelf upon the ground, and continued a long time diſtracted and ſpeechleſs. At laſt being with difficulty recovered, and conſidering that this was no time for lamentation and tears, ſhe ſtarted up and ran through the city towards the ſea-ſide, where *Pompey* met and embraced her juſt as ſhe was ready to fall down, and threw herſelf into his arms for ſupport. *This, my dear huſband*, ſaid ſhe, *is the effect of my fortune, not of yours, that I ſee you thus dejected and reduced to one poor veſſel, who before your marriage with* Cornelia *uſed to ſail over thoſe ſeas with a fleet of five hundred ſhips. Why therefore ſhould you come to ſee me, and why not rather have left me to my unhappy fate, who have been the cauſe of all your misfortunes? How happy a woman had I been, if I had died before I had heard from* Parthia *of the death of* Publius, *to whom I was wedded in my virginity?*

And how prudent, if I had followed him to the grave as I deſigned? But I was reſerved for a greater miſchief, even the ruin of Pompey the Great. Thus, they ſay, *Cornelia* ſpoke to him; and this was *Pompey*'s reply: *Dear* Cornelia, *Thou haſt hitherto been accuſtomed only to the ſmiles of fortune, who perhaps has deceived thee by having been conſtant to me beyond her uſual cuſtom: but it behoves us, who are mortals, to bear theſe afflictions, and try our fortune once again; neither ought we to deſpond, ſince it is as poſſible to retrieve our former happineſs after this diſtreſs, as it was to fall from that into this preſent calamity.* Upon this ſhe ſent for her goods and ſervants out of the city: the citizens of *Mitylene* came out alſo to ſalute *Pompey* and invite him into the town; but he refuſed, adviſing them to be obedient to the conqueror, and not to fear, *Cæſar* being a man of great humanity and clemency. Then turning to *Cratippus* the philoſopher, (who came among the reſt out of the city to viſit him) he began to complain and argue with him concerning providence. *Cratippus* ſeemed to yield in ſome degree to his objections, and only encouraged him to hope for better times, being unwilling to offend him by an unſeaſonable oppoſition. Not but that *Cratippus* might eaſily have anſwered his arguments, and have demonſtrated that by reaſon of the great diſorders that abounded throughout the whole empire, it was neceſſary that the government ſhould be lodged in the hands of a ſingle perſon. And for his fuller conviction, he might have put this queſtion to him; *How, O* Pompey, *and by what token, may we be aſſured that if the victory had been thine, thou wouldſt have uſed thy fortune better than* Cæſar? But the diſpenſations of providence we muſt leave to the Gods.

Pompey having taken his wife and friends aboard, ſet ſail, not touching at any port, but when he was neceſſitated to take in proviſions, or freſh water. The firſt

(8) This was *Ptolemy* ſurnamed *Dionyſius*, the ſon of *Ptolemy Auletes* who died the year before the battle of *Pharſalia*. He

firſt place he touched at was *Attalia*, a city in *Pamphylia*. Whilſt he was there, ſome gallies came thither to him out of *Cilicia*, together with a few bands of ſoldiers; and almoſt ſixty ſenators were aſſembled about him again. When he heard that his navy was ſafe too, and that *Cato* had rallied a conſiderable body of ſoldiers after their overthrow, and paſſed with them over into *Africa*, he began to complain to his friends, and to blame himſelf for having been prevailed upon to engage by land, without making uſe of thoſe forces in which he was undoubtedly the ſtronger, and for not keeping near enough to his fleet, that if he had failed by land, he might ſtill have had a power at ſea ſufficient to make head againſt the enemy. And indeed *Pompey* during all the war never committed a greater overſight, nor did *Cæſar* ever uſe a more ſubtle ſtratagem, than in removing the battle ſo far from their naval forces.

Pompey being obliged to attempt ſomething according to his preſent ability, ſent meſſengers to ſome of the neighbouring cities, and himſelf ſailed about in perſon to others, to collect money for the equipment of his fleet. But being ſenſible of *Cæſar*'s diligence and activity, and afraid leſt by a ſudden arrival he might ſurprize him before he had finiſhed his preparations, he began to conſider what place would yield him the ſafeſt retreat in the preſent ſituation of his affairs. A conſultation being held, it was generally agreed, that they could not remain in ſafety in any province belonging to the empire; and as to foreign kingdoms, he himſelf was of opinion, that *Parthia* was the fitteſt both to receive and defend them in their preſent diſtreſs, as well as to aſſiſt them with the greateſt force. Others of the council were for going into *Africa*, to King *Juba*; but *Theophanes* the *Lesbian* thought it madneſs to leave *Egypt*, (which was diſtant but three days ſail) and to forſake *Ptolemy* (8), who was

(8) He was now in his fourteenth year.

was now paſt his childhood, and was highly obliged to him for the friendſhip which he had ſhown to his father, only to truſt himſelf to the *Parthians*, the moſt treacherous nation in the world. He repreſented it as very abſurd to ſuffer *Arſaces* (by whom *Craſſus* would not be taken alive) to become maſter of his perſon, rather than try the clemency of a generous *Roman*, and one who had been his father-in-law, to whom if he would but yield to be ſecond, he might be the firſt over all others. Beſides, he thought it would be great cruelty to expoſe his wife who was young, and who was of the family of *Scipio*, among ſuch a barbarous people, who meaſure their greatneſs by their power to commit every kind of inſolence and outrage, and from whom, though ſhe might not ſuffer any diſhonour, yet it would be thought ſhe did, being in the hands of thoſe who had the power to injure her. This argument alone, they ſay, was ſo perſuaſive, as to divert *Pompey* from his intended courſe towards the *Euphrates*; if it were indeed *Pompey*'s opinion, and not rather his fate that determined him to take the other way. As ſoon therefore as it was reſolved upon, that he ſhould fly into *Egypt*, he ſet ſail from *Cyprus*, in a galley of *Seleucia*, together with *Cornelia*, and ſafely croſſed the ſea, the reſt of his company, ſome in galleys and others in ſhips of burden, ſailing by. But when he underſtood that King *Ptolemy* was with his army at *Peluſium*, making war againſt his ſiſter, he ſteered his courſe that way, and ſent a meſſenger before to acquaint him with his arrival, and crave his protection. *Ptolemy* himſelf was very young; and therefore *Photinus* who had the adminiſtration of the government, called a council of the chief men of the court, (thoſe being the greateſt whom he pleaſed to make ſo) and commanded each of them to deliver his opinion. But who can without indignation conſider, that the fate of *Pompey the Great* ſhould be determined by *Photinus* an eunuch, *Theodotus* of *Chios* a rhetorician, who taught for reward,

ward, and *Achillas* an *Egyptian?* For of all thoſe who attended the King's perſon, or who had a ſhare in his education, theſe three were his chief counſellors, and had the greateſt influence over him. In the mean time *Pompey* riding at anchor at a diſtance from ſhore, waited the reſult of this council; he who thought it beneath his dignity to owe his ſafety to *Cæſar*. They were divided in their opinions. Some of them were for giving *Pompey* a kind and honourable reception; others thought he ought not to be admitted. But *Theodotus* to ſhow the power of his eloquence, undertook to demonſtrate *that neither advice was ſafe; for if they entertained him, they would be ſure to make* Cæſar *their enemy, and* Pompey *their maſter; and if they diſmiſſed him, they might render themſelves hereafter obnoxious to* Pompey, *for that inhoſpitable expulſion, and to* Cæſar, *for letting him eſcape; ſo that the ſafeſt expedient would be to ſend for him, and take away his life, for by that means they would ingratiate themſelves with the one, and have no reaſon to fear the other*, adding, as it is reported, with a ſmile, *That a dead man cannot bite.* This advice being approved of, they committed the execution of it to *Achillas:* he therefore taking with him as his accomplices, one *Septimius*, a man who had formerly been an officer in *Pompey*'s army, and *Salvius* who had alſo been a centurion under him, with three or four officers more, made up towards *Pompey*'s galley. In the mean time, all the chief of thoſe who accompanied *Pompey* in this voyage, were come into his ſhip to ſee the event of the embaſſy. But when they ſaw that their reception was neither princely, nor honourable, nor indeed at all anſwerable to the hopes of *Theophanes*, and that there came but a few men in a fiſherman's boat to meet them, they began to ſuſpect this contemptuous treatment, and adviſed *Pompey* to turn back whilſt he was out of their reach, and launch into the main ſea. By this time, the *Egyptian* boat drew near, and *Septimius* ſtanding up firſt, ſaluted *Pompey* in the *Latin*

tongue by the title of *Imperator*. Then *Achillas* ſaluting him in the *Greek* language, deſired him to come aboard his veſſel, telling him, that the ſea was very ſhallow towards the ſhore, and that a galley of that burden could not avoid ſtriking upon the ſand. At the ſame time they ſaw ſeveral of the King's galleys well manned, and all the ſhore covered with ſoldiers; ſo that if they had changed their minds, it ſeemed impoſſible for them to eſcape; and beſides, their diſtruſt would have given the aſſaſſins a pretence for their cruelty. *Pompey* therefore taking his leave of *Cornelia*, who lamented his death before-hand, bid two centurions, together with *Philip* one of his freedmen, and a ſlave called *Scenes*, to go aboard of the *Egyptian*'s boat before him; and as ſome of the people belonging to *Achillas* were reaching out their hands to help him, he turned about towards his wife and ſon, and repeated thoſe Iambicks of *Sophocles*,

Who refuge ſeeks within a tyrant's door,
When once he enters there is free no more.

Theſe were the laſt words he ſpoke to his friends, after which he immediately went into the boat. There was a conſiderable diſtance betwixt his galley and the ſhore; and when he perceived that none of the company paid him the leaſt civility, or even ſpoke to him, he looked upon *Septimius*, and ſaid, *Methinks I ſhould know thee, friend; have not we been formerly fellow-ſoldiers?* But he only nodded with his head, making no reply, nor ſhowing any other mark of reſpect. Since therefore they continued ſilent, *Pompey* took a little book in his hand (in which was written a *Greek* oration, which he intended for King *Ptolemy*) and began to read. When they drew near to the ſhore, *Cornelia* together with the reſt of her friends in the galley watched the event with great anxiety; and ſhe began to take courage at laſt, when ſhe ſaw ſeveral of the court coming to meet him, imagining

imagining that it might be for a more honourable reception. But at that inſtant, while *Pompey* was taking *Philip* by the hand in order to raiſe himſelf with more eaſe, *Septimius* came firſt of all behind with his ſword, and run him through; and at the ſame time, *Salvius* and *Achillas* drew their ſwords likewiſe. *Pompey* taking up his gown with both hands, covered his face, and without ſaying or doing any thing unworthy of himſelf, only groaning a little, reſolutely endured the wounds they gave him, and ſo ended his life, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, the very next day after his birth-day. *Cornelia* with her company from the galleys, ſeeing him murdered, gave ſuch a ſhriek, that it was heard to the ſhore, and weighing anchor with all ſpeed, they hoiſted ſail and fled. A briſk gale from the ſhore aſſiſted their flight, ſo that the *Egyptians* failed of their deſign, and deſiſted from purſuing them. The murderers cut off *Pompey*'s head, and threw the body overboard, leaving it naked upon the ſhore, to be viewed by all who were deſirous to ſee it. *Philip* ſtayed by and watched it till their curioſity was ſatisfied; he then waſhed it with ſea-water, and having nothing elſe, wrapt it up in one of his own garments. By ſearching up and down about the ſands, he at laſt found ſome old planks of a little fiſher-boat; the quantity was not great, but ſufficient however to make a funeral pile for a naked body that was not quite entire. As *Philip* was buſy in collecting and putting theſe planks together, an old *Roman*, who in his youth had ſerved his firſt campaigns under *Pompey*, came to him, and demanded, *Who he was that was preparing the funeral of* Pompey the Great? *Philip* anſwered, *That he was his freedman*; *But you ſhall not have this honour alone*, ſaid he, *let me too have a ſhare in this pious office, that I may not altogether repent that I have been obliged to live in a ſtrange country, but in compenſation of all my misfortunes, may obtain this happineſs at laſt to touch and wrap up with my own hands the body of the greateſt Ge-*

neral among the Romans. In this manner was the funeral of *Pompey* performed. The next day *Lucius Lentulus*, not knowing what had paſſed, came from *Cyprus*; and as he ſailed along the coaſt, ſeeing a funeral pile, and *Philip* (whom he did not know at firſt) ſtanding by, he aſked him, *Who it was that was dead and buried there?* Then pauſing a little, and fetching a deep ſigh, *Perhaps*, ſaid he, *even thou O* Pompey *the Great!* Soon after going aſhore, he was apprehended and ſlain. Such was the end of *Pompey the Great.*

Not long after this *Cæſar* came into *Egypt*, where he found every thing in the greateſt confuſion and diſorder. Upon his arrival they ſhowed him the head of *Pompey*, but he looked with abhorrence on him who brought it. They delivered to him *Pompey*'s ſeal, on which was engraved a lion holding a ſword; and he burſt into tears upon receiving it. *Achillas* and *Photinus* he put to death; and King *Ptolemy* himſelf, being overthrown in battle upon the banks of the *Nile*, diſappeared, and was never heard of afterwards. *Theodotus* the rhetorician flying out of *Egypt*, eſcaped from *Cæſar*'s juſtice, but lived a vagabond in great poverty, univerſally deſpiſed and hated; till at laſt, *Marcus Brutus* (after he had killed *Cæſar*) finding him in his province of *Aſia*, put him to death, having firſt made him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments. The aſhes of *Pompey* were carried to his wife *Cornelia*, who buried them at his country-houſe near *Alba*.

The Compariſon of POMPEY *with* AGESILAUS.

HAVING deſcribed the lives of *Ageſilaus* and *Pompey*, let us now briefly draw the parallel and ſhow in what circumſtances they differ from each other. In the firſt place, *Pompey* obtained his greatneſs and reputation by the juſteſt methods, having advanced himſelf by his own merit, and by the many ſignal ſervices which he rendered to *Sylla* in aſſiſting him to deliver *Italy* from the uſurpation of tyrants. But *Ageſilaus* appears to have uſurped a kingdom in violation of the laws both of Gods and men, by declaring *Leotychidas* a baſtard, though his brother had acknowledged him as his legitimate ſon, and by putting a falſe gloſs upon the Oracle, and eluding the prophecy concerning his lameneſs (9). Secondly, *Pompey* had a conſtant veneration for *Sylla* all his lifetime, and after his death honourably interred him in ſpite of the oppoſition of *Lepidus*, and gave his daughter in marriage to his ſon *Fauſtus*. But *Ageſilaus*, upon a ſlight pretence, caſt off *Lyſander* with reproach and diſhonour. So that *Sylla* received in return from *Pompey* no leſs than he gave him; whereas *Lyſander* made *Ageſilaus* King of *Sparta*, and General of all *Greece*. Thirdly, *Pompey*'s offences againſt the ſtate and laws were occaſioned chiefly by his relations; for in moſt of his errors he was aſſociated with *Cæſar* and *Scipio*, who were both his fathers-in-law. But *Ageſilaus*, to gratify the paſſion of his ſon, ſaved the

(9) See p. 67.

the life of *Sphodrias*, when he deſerved death for the injuries he had done to the *Athenians*; and he was openly and cordially an abettor of *Phœbidas* in the breach of the league with the *Thebans* merely for the iniquity of the act itſelf. In ſhort, whatever injury *Pompey* did to the *Romans* through ignorance or a timorous reſpect for his friends, the ſame was committed by *Ageſilaus* againſt the *Lacedæmonians* out of obſtinacy and malice, he himſelf being the ſole author of the *Bœotian* war. If the unſucceſsful events of their lives are to be attributed to fortune, there will be this diſtinction between them, that *Pompey*'s ill fortune muſt have been quite unexpected by the *Romans*, whereas *Ageſilaus* would not ſuffer the *Lacedæmonians* to avoid what they foreſaw and heard muſt attend the reign of a lame King; for had *Leotychides* been proved by ten thouſand arguments to be ſpurious, yet the race of the *Eurytiontidæ* (1) was ſtill in being, and there could never have been wanting one deſcended from that line, to furniſh *Sparta* with a natural and lawful King, and one who was entire in his limbs too, had not *Lyſander* darkened and diſguiſed the true ſenſe of the Oracle in favour of *Ageſilaus*.

As to their political talents, there never was a more prudent and ſalutary contrivance than that deviſed by *Ageſilaus* in the perplexity occaſioned by thoſe who had fled at the battle of *Leuctra*, when after that unhappy defeat, he decreed, *That the laws ſhould ſleep for that day*; neither have we any thing to compare with this in all *Pompey*'s hiſtory; on the contrary, that he might ſhow to his friends the greatneſs of his power, he did not ſcruple for their ſake to break thoſe very laws which he himſelf had made; whereas *Ageſilaus*, when he ſeemed under

(1) Vol. I. p. 103, 104. and note p. 110.

(2) *Plutarch* ſeems to have had in view *Pompey*'s compliance with the order of *Sylla* to diſband his army in *Africa*; in return for which mark of reſpect *Sylla* when he met him ſaluted him by the title of *Great*. But *Pompey* could not foreſee that his obedience would be ſo well rewarded.

(3) *Plu-*

under a neceſſity of diſſolving the laws to preſerve his citizens from infamy, deviſed an expedient to ſpare them without abrogating the laws. This too muſt be conſidered as a ſingular inſtance of civil virtue in *Ageſilaus*, that immediately upon the receipt of the *Scytale* (or ſcroll of parchment from the *Ephori*) he left the war in *Aſia*, and returned into his country; for his caſe was not like that of *Pompey*, who rendered himſelf great by the ſame conduct that was beneficial to the publick (2); for *Ageſilaus*, attentive only to the proſperity and grandeur of his country, did for the ſake of that renounce as great honour and authority as ever any perſon attained to, either before or after him, except *Alexander* the Great. But let us now conſider them in another view.

If we reflect on *Pompey*'s military expeditions and exploits, the number of his trophies, and the greatneſs of the armies which he commanded, and of the battles which he won, I am perſuaded that even *Xenophon* himſelf would not put the victories of *Ageſilaus* in compariſon with his, (3) though he has this privilege allowed him, (as a ſingular reward for all his other virtues) that he may write and ſpeak in favour of his hero whatever he pleaſes. Methinks too there is a great deal of difference betwixt theſe men, in their moderation towards their enemies. For whilſt *Ageſilaus* was attempting to conquer *Thebes* and deſtroy *Meſſene*, one the city from which his family ſprung, the other *Sparta*'s ſiſter-colony (4), he had almoſt ruined *Sparta* herſelf; and ſhe really did loſe by his means her ſuperiority over the reſt of *Greece*. Whereas *Pompey* gave cities to thoſe of the pirates who were willing to change their courſe of life; and when it was

(3) *Plutarch* mentions this on account of a treatiſe written by *Xenophon*, which is no other than an encomium upon *Ageſilaus*, and in which he would repreſent him as the greateſt man that ever was, conſidered even in his military capacity.

(4) For *Meſſene* was a colony of the *Heraclidæ* as well as *Sparta*; and *Thebes* was the birth-place of *Hercules*.

(1) *Cara-*

was in his power to have led *Tigranes* King of *Armenia* in triumph, he chose rather to make him an ally of the *Romans*, saying, *That a glory which was to last throughout all ages, was to be preferred to that which was to be but of one day's continuance.* But if the prize of military virtue is to be the reward of such actions and counsels as are the distinguishing glory of a brave warrior and a wise commander, we shall find that the *Roman* comes far behind the *Lacedæmonian*; for *Agesilaus* never deserted his city, though it was besieged by an army of seventy thousand men, when there were very few soldiers within to defend it, and those had been defeated too but a little before at the battle of *Leuctra*. Whereas *Pompey* no sooner heard that *Cæsar* with a body of five thousand three hundred men had made himself master of one town in *Italy*, but he was so terrified as to abandon *Rome*, either meanly yielding to a smaller force than his own, or falsely imagining it to be greater. And having conveyed away his own wife and children, he fled, leaving all the rest of the citizens defenceless; whereas he ought either to have conquered fighting in defence of his country, or if defeated, to have yielded upon terms to the conqueror, who was his fellow-citizen and relation. But now that man to whom he denied an enlargement of the term of his government, and to whom he could not endure to grant another Consulship, was suffered by him to take possession of the city, and to tell *Metellus* the tribune, together with all the rest, *That they were his prisoners.* That therefore which is the principal office of a General, to put the enemy under a necessity of fighting when he finds himself the stronger, and not to be forced to come to an engagement when he is the weaker, was well understood by *Agesilaus*, and by this he always kept himself invincible. But *Pompey* was very defective in this talent, and could never force *Cæsar* to engage at a disadvantage, but was himself forced by *Cæsar* to hazard

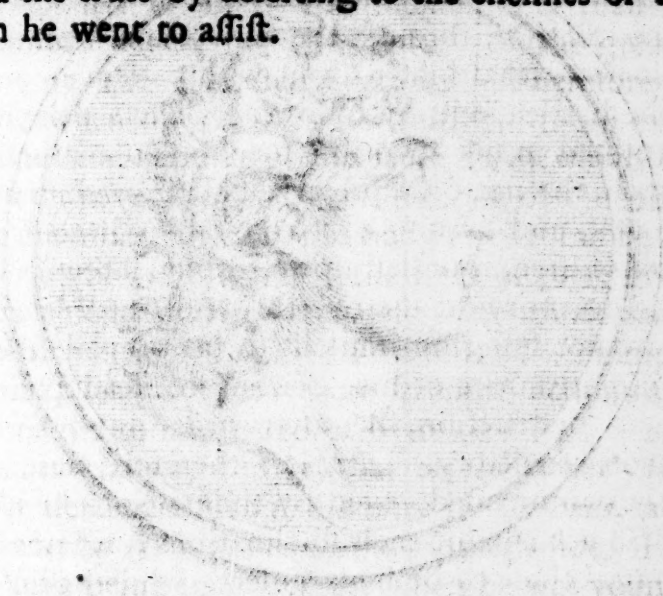
hazard all in a battle by land, where he was weakeſt; by which means *Cæſar* became maſter of his treaſures and proviſions, and of the ſea itſelf, all which *Pompey* might have preſerved had he known how to avoid an engagement. That which is alledged as an apology for *Pompey*, is the higheſt reproach to ſo great a General; for that a young commander ſhould be terrified and overpowered by the tumults and clamours of his ſoldiers, ſo as to quit the moſt ſafe and prudent meaſures, is neither ſtrange, nor altogether unpardonable. But who can bear to think that *Pompey* the Great, whoſe camp the *Romans* called their country, and whoſe tent they called the ſenate, ſtyling the Conſuls, Prætors, and all other magiſtrates who remained at *Rome*, rebels and traitors, who was never known to have been under the command of any but himſelf, (having been ſole General in all the glorious expeditions in which he had ever been engaged) who, I ſay, can bear to think that upon ſo ſmall a provocation as the ſcoffs of *Favonius* and *Domitius*, and the fear of having the nickname of *Agamemnon*, he ſhould be in a manner forced to hazard the whole empire and liberty of *Rome* upon a ſingle caſt? For if he ſo much regarded preſent infamy, he ſhould have oppoſed *Cæſar* at firſt by fighting in defence of the city, and not have left it as he did, colouring over his flight with the pretence of imitating *Themiſtocles*. Could he after this, imagine that there was any reproach in delaying a battle in *Theſſaly*? For neither did the Gods appoint the *Pharſalian* fields to be the theatre upon which they ſhould contend for the empire of *Rome*, neither was he ſummoned thither by any herald, with intimation, that he muſt either undergo the combat, or ſurrender the crown to another; but there were many other fields, thouſands of cities, and even the whole earth, any part of which his fleet put it in his power to chuſe, if he would but have followed the examples of *Maximus*, *Marius*, *Lucullus*,

and

and even *Ageſilaus* himſelf, who endured no leſs tumults within the city of *Sparta*, when the *Thebans* provoked him to battle for the reſidue of his country: he endured likewiſe many calumnies and accuſations in *Egypt*, through the imprudence of the King, whilſt he adviſed him to wait with patience, and delay the battle; and by following always what he had determined in his own judgment upon mature deliberation, he not only preſerved the *Egyptians* againſt their will, and kept *Sparta* from falling in that dreadful convulſion, but ſet up a trophy likewiſe in the city in memory of the overthrow of the *Thebans*; ſo that by not ſuffering himſelf to be prevailed on by the importunities of his citizens to lead them out to their deſtruction, he afterwards gave them an occaſion of victory. *Ageſilaus* therefore was at laſt highly commended, even by thoſe whom he had obliged to act againſt their inclinations; whereas *Pompey* found thoſe to be his accuſers, whoſe counſels he had followed, and who had forced him upon thoſe errors which proved his deſtruction. It is true, ſome ſay that he was deceived by his father-in-law *Scipio*, who deſigning to conceal and keep to himſelf the greateſt part of that treaſure which he had brought out of *Aſia*, urged *Pompey* to battle upon this pretence, that there would be a want of money; however, admitting this to be true, yet ſuch a General ought not to have been ſo eaſily deluded, to the hazard of all the greateſt concerns of the commonwealth. And thus we have taken a view of each, by comparing them together in their military conduct.

As to their voyages into *Egypt*: one fled thither out of neceſſity; the other went neither honourably, nor neceſſarily, but as a mercenary ſoldier, having liſted himſelf into the ſervice of a barbarous nation for pay, that he might be able to wage war upon the *Grecians*. Laſtly, the crime which we charge upon

upon the *Egyptians* in their behaviour to *Pompey*, the *Egyptians* charge upon *Ageſilaus*: for one was betrayed by thoſe whom he truſted; the other betrayed his truſt by deſerting to the enemies of thoſe whom he went to aſſiſt.





ALEXANDER the GREAT.

IT being my deſign in this volume to write the life of *Alexander*, and of *Cæſar* by whom *Pompey* was deſtroyed, I ſhall only premiſe, (ſince the multitude of their great actions affords me ſo large a field) that I hope my readers will not be diſpleaſed to find that I have choſen rather to epitomize the moſt celebrated parts of their hiſtory, than to inſiſt at large on every particular circumſtance; eſpecially conſidering that my deſign is not to write hiſtories, but lives. Beſides, the moſt glorious exploits do not always

(1) *Caranus*, who was the ſixteenth in deſcent from *Hercules*, got poſſeſſion of *Macedonia*, and *Alexander* the Great was the twenty-ſecond deſcendant from *Caranus*, ſo that from *Hercules* to *Alexander*

always furniſh us with the cleareſt diſcoveries of virtue, or vice, in men; ſometimes a matter of leſs moment, a ſingular expreſſion or a jeſt, informs us better of their manners and inclinations, than the moſt famous ſieges, the arrangement of the greateſt armies, or the bloodieſt battles. Therefore as painters, when they draw a portrait, are more exact in the lines and features of the face, from which we may beſt diſcover the peculiar diſpoſition of the mind, than in the other parts of the body; ſo let me be allowed to exhibit a picture of the lives of theſe great men, by chiefly ſtudying and deſcribing thoſe particulars which moſt diſtinctly characterize their temper and genius, leaving their more ſplendid actions and atchievements to be treated of by others.

It is univerſally agreed (1) that on the father's ſide *Alexander* deſcended from *Hercules* by *Caranus*, and from *Æacus* by *Neoptolemus* on the mother's ſide. His father *Philip* being in *Samothrace* when he was young, fell in love there with *Olympias*, with whom he was initiated in the religious ceremonies of the country; and her father and mother being both dead, he ſoon after, with the conſent of her brother *Arymbas*, married her. The night before the conſummation of the marriage, ſhe dreamed that a thunderbolt fell upon her belly, which kindled a great fire, the flames of which divided themſelves on all ſides, and then were extinguiſhed. And *Philip*, ſome time after he was married, dreamed that he ſealed up his wife's belly with a ſeal, whoſe impreſſion, as he fancied, was the figure of a lion. Some interpreted this as a warning to *Philip* to look narrowly to his wife; but *Ariſtander* of *Telmiſſus* conſidering it was unuſual to ſeal up any thing that was empty, aſſured him the meaning of his dream was, that the Queen was with child of a boy, who would one day prove as ſtout and courageous

(1) In *Alexander* there were thirty-eight generations. The deſcent by his mother's ſide is not ſo clear, there being many degrees wanting in it. It is ſufficient to know that *Olympias* was the daughter

geous as a lion. Not long after a dragon was observed to lie close by *Olympias* while she slept; upon which *Philip*'s affection to her sensibly abated: for whether he feared her as an inchantress, or thought she had commerce with some God, and so looked on himself as unequal to such a rival, he was ever after less fond of her company. Others say, that the women of this country having always been extremely addicted to the enthusiastick ceremonies of *Orpheus* and *Bacchus*, (upon which account they were called *Clodones* and *Mimallones*) imitated in many things the *Edonian* and *Thracian* women about mount *Hæmus*, from whom the word *Threſceuin* seems to be derived, which signifies *to perform extravagant and superstitious rites*; and that *Olympias* having a peculiar zeal for these fanatical and enthusiastick inspirations, in order to give the solemnities a more wild and horrid appearance used to have large tame serpents with her, which sometimes creeping out of the ivy and the mystick fans sometimes winding themselves about the sacred spears, and the womens chaplets, struck the spectators with terror.

Philip after this vision sent *Chæron* of *Megalopolis* to consult the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, by which he was commanded to sacrifice to, and adore *Jupiter Ammon* above all the other Gods. And it is said that he lost that eye with which he presumed to peep through the chink of the door, when he saw the God in the form of a serpent lying by his wife. *Eratosthenes* says, that *Olympias* when she brought *Alexander* on his way in his first expedition, told him in private the secret of his birth, and exhorted him to behave with

daughter of *Neoptolemus*, and sister to *Arymbas*.

(2) *Hegesias* was an historian, and flourished during the reign of *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*. This conceit which *Plutarch* applies to him, and which he calls so cold, is attributed to *Timæus* by *Cicero*, who thinks it a very good one. *Concinneque ut multa Timæus, qui cum in historia dixisset, quâ nocte natus Alexander esset, eadem Dianæ Ephesiæ templum*

with courage ſuitable to his divine extraction. Others again affirm, that ſhe wholly declined this vanity, and uſed to ſay, *Will* Alexander *never leave making* Juno *jealous of me?*

Alexander was born on the ſixth of *Hecatombæon* [*July*] (which month the *Macedonians* call *Lous*) the ſame day that the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus* was burnt; upon which occaſion *Hegeſias* of *Magneſia* (2) utters a conceit ſo frigid that it might have ſerved to extinguiſh the flames: *It is no wonder*, ſays he, *that the temple of* Diana *ſhould be burnt, as ſhe was then attending as midwife at the birth of* Alexander. All the prieſts and ſoothſayers who were then at *Epheſus*, looking upon the ruin of this temple to be the forerunner of ſome other calamity, ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying out that *That day had brought forth ſomething that would prove fatal and deſtructive to all* Aſia. *Philip* had juſt taken *Potidæa*, when he received theſe three meſſages on the ſame day: that *Parmenio* had overthrown the *Illyrians* in a great battle; that his race-horſe had won the prize at the Olympick games; and that his wife was brought to-bed of *Alexander*; with which being extremely pleaſed, as an addition to his ſatisfaction, the diviners aſſured him that a ſon whoſe birth was accompanied with three victories could not fail of being invincible.

The ſtatues that moſt reſembled *Alexander* were thoſe of *Lyſippus*, by whom alone this Prince would ſuffer his image to be made. The inclination of his head which leaned a little to one ſide, and the liveline's of his eyes (in which particulars his friends and ſucceſſors

lum deflagraviſſe, adjunxit minimum id eſſe miraculum, quod Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adeſſe voluiſſet, abfuiſſet domo. Had this been ſaid by *Lucian* in ridicule of the *Pagan* theology, it might have deſerved praiſe; but conſidered as a ſerious reflection it certainly is juſtly cenſured by *Plutarch*; however he can hardly eſcape the ſame cenſure himſelf for the turn of his criticiſm.

ſucceſſors chiefly affected to imitate him) were very accurately expreſſed by the artiſt. But *Apelles*, who drew him with thunderbolts in his hand, made his complexion browner and darker than it really was; for he is ſaid to have been fair, with a mixture of ruddineſs chiefly in his face and upon his breaſt. *Ariſtoxenus* in his memoirs tells us, that an admirable ſcent proceeded from his ſkin, and that his breath and whole body was ſo fragrant, as to perfume the clothes which he wore next him; the cauſe of which might probably be his hot and aduſt temperament; for ſweet ſmells, as *Theophraſtus* conjectures, are produced by the concoction of moiſt humours by heat, which is the reaſon that thoſe parts of the world which are drieſt and moſt burnt up, afford ſpices of the beſt kind, and in the greateſt quantity; for the heat of the ſun exhauſts the ſuperfluous moiſture, which floats upon the ſurface of bodies and generates putrefaction. And this hot conſtitution, it may be, rendered *Alexander* ſo addicted to drinking, and ſo cholerick.

In his early youth he was very temperate with regard to the pleaſures of the body, being with much difficulty incited to them, and always uſing them with great moderation; though in other things he was extremely eager and vehement. In his love and purſuit of glory he ſhowed a dignity and magnanimity far above his age; for he neither ſought nor valued it upon every ſlight occaſion, as his father *Philip* did, who affected to ſhow his eloquence like a ſophiſt, and took care to have the victories of his chariots at the Olympick games engraven on his coin. But when *Alexander* was aſked by ſome about him, whether he would run a race in the Olympick games (for he was very ſwift-footed) he anſwered, *He would, if he might have Kings to run with him.* It is evident that he had no opinion of the *Athletick* exerciſes; for though

(3) The rhapſodiſts were perſons who recited or ſung paſſages from

though he often appointed prizes for tragedians, for performers on the flute and harp, and for rhapsodists (3), and gave entertainments of every kind of hunting, and of fighting with cudgels, yet he rarely gave any encouragement either to boxing or wrestling.

While he was yet very young, he entertained the ambassadors from the King of *Persia* in the absence of his father, and charmed them with his politeness and affability; but they were peculiarly pleased with the questions he asked them, which were far from being childish or trifling; for he enquired of them the distances of places, the manner of travelling in the remoter parts of *Asia*, the character of their King, how he behaved to his enemies, and what forces he was able to bring into the field; so that they were struck with admiration of him, and looked upon the abilities of *Philip*, though so highly celebrated, to be nothing in comparison of the extensive genius and enterprizing spirit of his son. Whenever he heard that *Philip* had taken any town of importance, or won any signal victory, instead of rejoicing at it, he would tell his companions, that *his father would anticipate every thing, and leave him and them no opportunities of performing great and illustrious actions.* For being more addicted to virtue and glory, than either to pleasure or riches, he esteemed all that he should receive from his father, as a diminution of his own future atchievements; and he would have chosen rather to succeed to a kingdom involved in troubles and wars, which would have afforded him frequent exercise of his valour, and a large field of honour, than to one already flourishing and settled, where he must lead an unactive life, and be as it were buried in the sordid enjoyments of wealth and luxury.

The care of his education was committed to a great many preceptors and tutors, over whom *Leonidas*, a kinsman

from the poets, and especially from *Homer*.

kinſman of *Olympias*, a man of an auſtere temper, preſided. Though he did not decline the title of preceptor, the office itſelf being important and honourable, yet becauſe of his dignity and relation to the royal family, he was called by others *Alexander*'s foſter-father and governor. But he who took upon him the place and name of his preceptor, was *Lyſimachus* the *Acarnanian*, who though not diſtinguiſhed by his merit or polite accompliſhments, recommended himſelf to favour, and obtained the next rank to *Leonidas*, merely by calling himſelf *Phœnix*, *Alexander Achilles*, and *Philip Peleus*.

When *Philonicus* the *Theſſalian* brought the horſe *Bucephalus* to *Philip*, offering to ſell him for thirteen (4) talents, they went into the field to try him; but they found him ſo very vicious and unmanageable, that he reared up when they endeavoured to back him, and would not ſo much as endure the voice of any of *Philip*'s attendants. *Philip* diſliking him and ordering his ſervants to lead him away as altogether wild and untractable, *Alexander*, who ſtood by, would not let them, ſaying, *What an excellent horſe do they loſe, for want of addreſs and boldneſs to manage him?* *Philip* at firſt took no notice of what he ſaid; but when he heard him repeat the ſame thing, and ſaw that he was uneaſy, he ſaid, *Do you reproach thoſe who are elder than yourſelf, as if you knew more, and were better able to manage a horſe than they?* *Yes*, replied he, *with this horſe I could deal better than any one elſe.* *And if you do not*, ſaid *Philip*, *what will you forfeit for your raſhneſs?* *The whole price of the horſe*, ſaid *Alexander*. At this the whole company fell a laughing; but as ſoon as the agreement was made between them about the money, he immediately ran to the horſe, and taking hold of the bridle, turned him directly towards the ſun, having it ſeems obſerved that he was frighted

(4) This will appear a moderate price to thoſe who have read what *Varro* writes in *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. *de re ruſt.* that *Q. Axius* a ſenator gave four hundred thouſand ſeſterces for an aſs; and ſtill

frighted by the motion of his own ſhadow. Then letting him go forward a little, ſtill keeping the reins in his hand, and ſtroaking him gently, when he found his fury begin to abate, he let fall his upper garment ſoftly, and with one nimble leap mounted on his back; and when he was ſecurely ſeated, by little and little he ſtraitened the bridle, and curbed him without ſtriking or teazing him. Afterwards, when he perceived his heat and mettle was leſs impetuous, though he was ſtill eager to run, he let him go at full ſpeed, not only encouraging him with a commanding voice, but preſſing him forward alſo with his heel. All who were preſent beheld this action at firſt with ſilent aſtoniſhment, and apprehenſion for *Alexander*'s ſafety; till ſeeing him turn at the end of his career, and come back rejoicing and triumphing for what he had performed, they all burſt out into acclamations of applauſe; and his father weeping for joy, kiſſed him as he came down from his horſe, and in his tranſport ſaid, *O my ſon, ſeek ſome kingdom equal to thy worth, for* Macedonia *is too little for thee.*

Philip conſidering that he was of a temper not eaſily controuled, and that though he might be led to his duty by reaſon, he was impatient of compulſion, always endeavoured to perſuade, rather than to command him. And now looking upon inſtruction and education to be of too great difficulty and importance to be wholly truſted to thoſe maſters who only taught him muſick, and other ſuperficial and vulgar ſciences, and to require, as *Sophocles* ſays,

The guiding rudder and reſtraining curb,

He ſent for *Ariſtotle*, the moſt knowing and celebrated philoſopher of his time, and rewarded him with a mu-

ſtill more moderate when compared with what *Tavernier* relates that there were horſes in *Arabia* valued at a hundred thouſand crowns.

a munificence proportionable to the care he took to inſtruct his ſon. For he repeopled his native city *Stagira*, which he had cauſed to be demoliſhed a little before, reſtored to their habitations all the citizens who were in exile or ſlavery, and aſſigned them the *Nymphæum* for their ſtudies and exerciſes, near the town of *Mieza*, where to this day they ſhow *Ariſtotle*'s ſtone ſeats, and the ſhady walks which he uſed to frequent. It appears that *Alexander* was inſtructed by him not only in morality and policy, but in thoſe more abſtruſe and difficult parts of learning, which are called by the peculiar names of (5) *Acroamaticks*, and *Epoptieks*, and which are never communicated to the vulgar. For when he was in *Aſia*, and heard that *Ariſtotle* had publiſhed ſome treatiſes of that kind, he wrote to him with great freedom in the behalf of philoſophy, in this manner: Alexander *to* Ariſtotle *health. You have not done well to publiſh your books of* Acroamaticks; *for what is there now wherein I can ſurpaſs others, if thoſe things in which I have been particularly inſtructed by you, be laid open to all? For my part, I had rather excel others in the knowledge of the ſublimer ſciences, than in the extent of my power and dominion. Farewel.* *Ariſtotle*, to appeaſe him and gratify this noble ambition, anſwered that thoſe books were indeed publiſhed, but not the ſubject of them. For indeed his *Metaphyſicks* are written in ſuch a manner that they are unſerviceable to learners, and uſeful only to thoſe who are well verſed in the principles of that

(5) That is ſuch a ſort of learning as is received by word of mouth, and into which the ſcholars were initiated by inſpection as into the myſteries. Theſe ſciences were called *Acroamaticks*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Exotericks*. The firſt were never communicated but to particular perſons, who were known to *Ariſtotle* to be of a capacity proper to receive them, whereas he taught the others publickly to all who had a mind to hear them. *Aul. Gell.* lib. xx. cap. 5.

(6) It was ſo called becauſe he kept it in a very rich caſket which he found among the ſpoils of *Darius*, as *Plutarch* mentions afterwards.

(7) Of *Aſtypalæa* one of the *Sporades*.

that ſcience. It was probably to *Ariſtotle* that he owed the knowledge he had in phyſick: for when any of his friends were ſick, he would often preſcribe them their courſe of diet, and medicines proper to their diſeaſe, as we may find in his *Epiſtles*. He was naturally a great lover of every kind of learning, and much addicted to reading; but the book he delighted in moſt was *Homer's Iliad*, which he eſteemed and called *a treaſure of military knowledge*. He always had with him a copy of it which had been corrected for him by *Ariſtotle*, and which is called *the Caſket-copy* (6). *Oneſicritus* (7) informs us that he laid this with his dagger every night under his pillow. When he was in upper *Aſia*, where he could not be ſo eaſily ſupplied with books, he ordered *Harpalus* to ſend him ſome, who furniſhed him with *Philiſtus's* hiſtory, a great many of the tragedies of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Æſchylus*, and ſome dithyrambicks compoſed by *Teleſtes* and *Philoxenus*. For ſome time he had as great a reſpect and affection (as he uſed to ſay himſelf) for *Ariſtotle* as for his father *Philip*; *for one*, he ſaid, *had given him life, and the other had taught him how to live well*. But afterwards he had ſome miſtruſt of him, though not ſo much as to do him any injury; but the kindneſs he continued to ſhow him not being accompanied with that warmth and tenderneſs which he had formerly expreſſed, proved that his affection was abated (8). However that love of learning which was natural to him, and which his education

Sporadis. He followed *Alexander* in his expedition into *Aſia*, and wrote an account of it. He was the pilot of *Alexander's* galley, and would make us believe in his hiſtory that he had the command of his fleet. Truth was one of the things leaſt regarded by him in his writings. He endeavoured to imitate *Xenophon's* ſtile, but he fell far ſhort of his elegance and ſimplicity.

(8) The real cauſe of this coldneſs was never known. Some have thought it was becauſe *Ariſtotle* was more zealous for the intereſts of *Olympias* than thoſe of *Alexander*. Others, becauſe he had recommended *Calliſthenes* the philoſopher to that Prince's ſervice. For *Calliſthenes*

education had increaſed, never left him, as appears by the reſpect he ſhowed to *Anaxarchus*, by the preſent of fifty talents which he ſent to (9) *Xenocrates*, and his particular care and eſteem for *Dandamis* and *Calanus*.

When *Philip* went on an expedition againſt the *Byzantines*, he left *Alexander*, then ſixteen years old, his lieutenant in *Macedonia*, and intruſted him with the royal ſignet. *Alexander* in his father's abſence reduced the rebellious (1) *Medarans*, and having taken their chief town by ſtorm, drove out the barbarous inhabitants, and planting a colony of ſeveral nations in their room, called the place *Alexandropolis*. At the battle of *Chæronæa*, which his father fought againſt the *Grecians*, he is ſaid to have been the firſt man that charged the ſacred band of the *Thebans*. And even in my remembrance there ſtood an old oak near the river *Cephiſus*, which the country people called *Alexander*'s *Oak*, becauſe his tent was pitched under it. And not far off are to be ſeen the graves of the *Macedonians* who fell in that battle. This early bravery made *Philip* ſo fond of him, that nothing pleaſed him more than to hear his ſubjects call *Alexander* their King, and himſelf their General.

But the diſorders of his family, chiefly cauſed by his marriages and amours, (the whole kingdom in a manner taking part in the quarrels of the women) produced many diſputes and diſſenſions between them, which the ill-nature of *Olympias*, a woman of a jealous and implacable temper, ſtill encreaſed by exaſperating *Alexander* againſt his father. Among other things, this accident contributed greatly to inflame their reſentment. At the wedding of *Cleopatra*, whom *Philip* married, though ſhe was much too young for him,

benes was a perſon of too blunt a temper, and too much an enemy to flattery, to be long acceptable to a Prince who would be thought the ſon of *Jupiter*.

(9) Of theſe fifty talents *Xenocrates* took no more than three thouſand drachmas, telling *Alexander* that he had the moſt need of the reſt, who had ſo many mouths

him, her uncle *Attalus* in his cups deſired the *Macedonians* would implore the Gods to give them a lawful ſucceſſor to the kingdom by his niece. This ſo incenſed *Alexander*, that he threw one of the cups at him, crying out, *You villain, what am I then a baſtard? Philip* immediately ſtarted up and ran towards his ſon with his ſword drawn; but by the good fortune of both, his exceſſive rage, and the wine he had drank, made his foot ſlip, ſo that he fell down on the floor. At which *Alexander* moſt reproachfully inſulted over him: *See there*, ſaid he, *the man, who was preparing to paſs out of* Europe *into* Aſia, *overturned in paſſing from one ſeat to another.* Soon after this drunken brawl, he and his mother *Olympias* went from court, and when he had placed her in *Epirus*, he himſelf retired into *Illyricum*.

About this time *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, an old friend of the family, who had the liberty of ſaying any thing among them without offence, came to viſit *Philip*. After the firſt compliments and embraces were over, *Philip* aſked him, *Whether the* Grecians *lived in amity with one another? It ill becomes you*, replied *Demaratus*, *to enquire after the ſtate of* Greece, *who have involved your own houſe in ſo many diſſenſions and calamities.* *Philip* was ſo touched by this ſeaſonable reproach, that he immediately ſent for his ſon home, and at laſt by *Demaratus*'s mediation prevailed with him to return. But this reconciliation laſted not long; for when *Pexodorus*, Governor of *Caria*, ſent *Ariſtocritus* to treat of a match between his eldeſt daughter and *Philip*'s ſon *Aridæus*, hoping by this alliance to ſecure his aſſiſtance upon occaſion, *Alexander*'s mother and friends took occaſion by idle reports and ſlanders to raiſe a ſuſpicion in his mind that *Philip*

mouths to feed, and ſo many men to pay.

(1) The name of *Medarans* is unknown; ſome ſuppoſe that it ought to be read *Mædians*, which was the name of a people in *Thrace*.

(2) *Juſtin*

lip intended by means of this ſplendid and powerful alliance to make *Aridæus* his ſucceſſor in the kingdom. This gave him great uneaſineſs; he therefore diſpatched one *Theſſalus* a player into *Caria*, to perſuade *Pexodorus* to think no more of *Aridæus* who was both illegitimate and a fool, and rather to accept of him for his ſon-in-law. This propoſition was much more agreeable to *Pexodorus* than the former. But *Philip*, as ſoon as ever he was made acquainted with this tranſaction, went directly to his ſon's apartment, accompanied only by one of his moſt intimate friends, *Philotas* the ſon of *Parmenio*, and there reproved him with great ſeverity and bitterneſs; he upbraided him with the meanneſs and degeneracy of his ſpirit, and told him that he was unworthy of the crown he was to inherit, ſince he could degrade himſelf ſo far as to deſire the alliance of a *Carian*, who was at beſt but the vaſſal of a barbarous Prince. Nor did this ſatisfy his reſentment, for he wrote to the *Corinthians*, bidding them ſend *Theſſalus* to him in chains, and baniſhed *Harpalus*, *Neoptolemus*, *Phrygius*, and *Ptolemy*, his ſon's confidents and favourites, whom *Alexander* afterwards recalled, and raiſed to great honour and preferment.

Not long after this, a youth named *Pauſanias* (2), having been forcibly abuſed by the contrivance of *Attalus* and *Cleopatra*, and finding he could get no reparation for his diſgrace at *Philip*'s hands, watched his opportunity and murdered him. The guilt of this fact was partly charged upon *Olympias*, who is ſaid to have encouraged and exaſperated the enraged youth to revenge, and partly upon *Alexander* himſelf, who

(2) *Juſtin* calls him *Nobilis ex Macedonibus Adoleſcens*. He was one of *Philip*'s lifeguard. *Attalus* not only abuſed him himſelf, but proſtituted him to all his gueſts at a feſtival entertainment. *Juſtin* ix. 7.

(3) *Alexander* cited only the two hundred and eighty-eighth verſe of that tragedy,

Τὸν δόντα, κ᾽ γήμαντα, κ᾽ γα-
μοῦντ᾽.

which is ſpoken by *Creon* to *Medea*. *I have been informed*, ſays

who when *Pauſanias* came and complained to him of the injury he had received, repeated this line out of *Euripides*'s *Medea* (3),

The bridal father, bridegroom, and the bride.

However he took care to find out and puniſh the accomplices of the conſpiracy, and was very angry with *Olympias* for treating *Cleopatra* with too great rigour in his abſence.

Alexander was but twenty years old when he ſucceeded to the kingdom which was expoſed on all ſides to envy, hatred, and danger, the barbarous nations that bordered on *Macedonia*, being impatient of being governed by any but their own native princes; and though *Philip* had been victorious over the *Grecians*, yet as he had not time to ſubdue their ſpirits and inure them to the yoke, he had only diſturbed and unſettled the ſtate of affairs, which were left in great uncertainty and confuſion, becauſe cuſtom had not yet rendered the change familiar and eaſy. The *Macedonians* therefore, thinking the ſituation of the kingdom critical and dangerous, adviſed *Alexander* to abandon all deſigns of ſubduing *Greece*, and to endeavour to reduce the neighbouring nations by gentle means, and prevent innovations in their very beginning. But he rejected this counſel as weak and timorous, and rather choſe to ſecure himſelf by reſolution and magnanimity, than by ſeeming to ſtand in fear of any, to encourage all to trample on him. In conſequence of this determination he diſappointed the hoſtile deſigns of the barbarians by making a ſudden incurſion

ſays he, *that thy deſign is to puniſh the bridegroom, the bride, and the perſon who gave her.* That is, *Jaſon*, *Creuſa*, and *Creon*. *Alexander* in the application of this verſe gives *Pauſanias* to underſtand that he ought to wreak his vengeance *upon the bridegroom*, that is *Philip*, *upon the bride*, that is his wife *Cleopatra*, *and upon him that gave her*, that is *Attalus*, who contrived the match between *Philip* and his niece.

(4) This

incurſion into their country, as far as the river *Iſter*, where he gave *Syrmus* King of the *Triballians* a conſiderable overthrow. And hearing that the *Thebans* were ready to revolt, and that the *Athenians* joined with them, he immediately marched through the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*, ſaying, Demoſthenes *called me a child while I was in* Illyricum *and the country of the* Triballians, *and a youth while I was in* Theſſaly; *I will now ſhow him before the walls of* Athens *that I am a man.*

When he came to *Thebes*, being willing to accept of their repentance for what was paſt, he only demanded of them *Phœnix* and *Prothytes* the authors of the rebellion, and proclaimed a general pardon to thoſe who would come over to him. But when the *Thebans*, on the other ſide, not only required *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered into their hands, but alſo publickly invited all who would aſſert the liberty of *Greece* into an aſſociation with them, he reſolved to turn his arms againſt them. The *Thebans* indeed defended themſelves by their alacrity and courage more than by their ſtrength, being much out-numbered by their enemies. But when the *Macedonian* garriſon ſallied out upon them from the citadel, they were ſo encompaſſed on all ſides, that moſt of them fell in the battle. The city itſelf being taken, was ſacked and razed, on purpoſe that ſo ſevere an example might terrify the reſt of *Greece* into obedience. However, to colour this ſeverity, he gave out that he was forced to it by the preſſing complaints and accuſations of his confederates the *Phocians* and *Platæans*. So that, except the prieſts, thoſe between whom and the *Macedonians* a right of hoſpitality ſubſiſted, the family of the poet *Pindar*, and thoſe who were known to have oppoſed the rebellion, all the reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand, were publickly ſold for ſlaves; and it is computed, that upwards of ſix thouſand were put to the ſword. Among the other calamities that befel this miſerable city, it happened that ſome *Thracian* ſoldiers plundered and demoliſhed the

houſe of an illuſtrious matron named *Timoclea*; and their Captain, after he had raviſhed her, aſked her if ſhe had any money concealed; ſhe anſwered that ſhe had, and bid him follow her into the garden, where ſhe ſhowed him a well, into which ſhe told him, upon the taking of the city, ſhe had thrown what ſhe had of moſt value. The *Thracian* ſtooping down to view the place, ſhe came behind him and puſhed him into the well, and then threw great ſtones in upon him, till ſhe had killed him. After which, when the ſoldiers led her away bound to *Alexander*, her mien and carriage ſhowed her to be a woman of a noble rank and an elevated mind; for ſhe did not betray the leaſt ſign of fear or aſtoniſhment. And when the King aſked her who ſhe was, *I am*, ſaid ſhe, *the ſiſter of* Theagenes, *who commanded in the battle of* Chæronea *againſt your father* Philip, *and fell there for the liberty of* Greece. *Alexander* was ſo ſurprized at both her action and her ſpeech, that he gave her and her children full liberty to go whither they pleaſed.

After this he received the *Athenians* into favour, although they had ſhowed themſelves ſo much concerned at the calamity of *Thebes*, that they omitted the celebration of their feſtivals, and entertained thoſe who eſcaped with all poſſible humanity. But whether his fury, like that of lions, was pacified after being ſo fully glutted with ſlaughter, or whether after an example of horrid cruelty he had a mind to appear merciful, he not only forgave the *Athenians* their paſt offences, but adviſed them to look to their affairs with caution and vigilance, upon this conſideration, that if he ſhould die they were like to be the arbiters of *Greece*. It is certain, that he often repented of his ſeverity to the *Thebans*, and his remorſe had ſuch influence on his temper, as to make him afterwards leſs rigorous to many others. He imputed alſo the murder of *Clitus*, which he committed in his wine, and the baſe deſertion of the *Macedonians*, who refuſed to follow him againſt the *Indians*, (by which his glory

was

was tarniſhed and his enterprize left imperfect) to the wrath and vengeance of *Bacchus*, the protector of *Thebes*. And it was obſerved, that whatſoever any *Theban*, who ſurvived this victory, aſked of him, was certainly granted.

Soon after this the *Grecians* being aſſembled at the *Iſthmus* of *Peloponneſus*, declared their reſolution of joining with *Alexander* in the war againſt the *Perſians*, and made choice of him for their General. While he ſtaid there, many ſtateſmen and philoſophers came from all parts to viſit him, and congratulate him upon his election. He expected the ſame complement from *Diogenes* of *Sinope*, for he was then at *Corinth*; but when he found that he took no notice of him, and that he did not ſo much as ſtir out of the ſuburb called *Cranium*, where he reſided, *Alexander* went thither himſelf to viſit him. *Diogenes* was at that time lying on the ground and baſking himſelf in the ſun; but when he ſaw ſo much company near him, he raiſed himſelf a little, and looked upon *Alexander*, who after ſaluting him, aſked him, whether he wanted any thing; *Only*, replied he, *ſtand from between me and the ſun.* *Alexander* was ſo affected at this anſwer, and ſo ſurprized at the greatneſs of the man's ſoul, who had taken ſo little notice of him, that as he went away, he told his followers who were laughing at the moroſeneſs of the philoſopher, *That if he were not* Alexander, *he could wiſh to be* Diogenes.

Then he went to *Delphi*, to conſult *Apollo* concerning the ſucceſs of the war he had undertaken; and happening to come at a time that was eſteemed unlucky, when it was unlawful to give any anſwers from the Oracle, he ſent meſſengers to deſire the Prieſteſs to do her office; but ſhe refuſing to comply, alledging that there was a law to the contrary, he went up himſelf, and drew her by force into the temple,

(4) This was the name of a mountain, and city in the country of the *Odryſæ* a people of *Thrace*. On mount *Helicon* in *Bœotia* there was a cave called *the cave of the nymphs of* Libethra,

temple, where tired and overcome with ſtruggling, *My ſon*, ſaid ſhe, *Thou art invincible.* *Alexander* hearing this declared he had received ſuch an anſwer as he wiſhed for, and that it was needleſs to conſult the God any further. Among other prodigies that preceded the march of his army, the image of *Orpheus* at (4) *Libethra*, made of cypreſs wood, was ſeen to ſweat very plentifully. This diſcouraged many; but *Ariſtander* told him, that far from preſaging any ill to him, it ſignified he ſhould perform ſuch important and glorious actions as would make the poets and muſicians of future ages labour and ſweat to deſcribe and celebrate them.

His army by the ſmalleſt computation, conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, and according to the largeſt account, of thirty-four thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. *Ariſtobulus* ſays, he had not a fund of above ſeventy talents for their pay, nor more than thirty days proviſion, if we may believe *Duris*; and *Cneſicritus* tells us, he was two hundred talents in debt. But though he ſet out on this expedition with ſuch ſcanty and inconſiderable ſupplies, yet he would not embark his army, till he had informed himſelf particularly what eſtates his friends had; to ſome of them therefore he gave lands, to ſome villages, and to others the annual profit of ſome town or harbour. Having thus diſpoſed of his whole revenue, *Perdiccas* aſked him *what he had left for himſelf*; he replied, *My hopes. Let us then*, ſaid *Perdiccas, who are to ſhare with you in your dangers, ſhare with you in your hopes alſo.* *Perdiccas* therefore refuſed to accept the eſtate he had aſſigned to him; and ſome others of his friends did the ſame; but to thoſe who willingly received, or deſired aſſiſtance of him, he liberally granted it, ſo that the greateſt part of his patrimony in *Macedonia* was ſpent in thoſe donations.

With

bethra, upon which *Strabo* has founded his conjecture that the *Thracians* were the people who conſecrated all thoſe places to the muſes. *Orpheus* was a native of *Libethra*.

With this diſpoſition and theſe vigorous reſolutions, he paſſed the *Helleſpont*. At *Troy* he ſacrificed to *Minerva*, and honoured the memory of the heroes who were buried there, with ſolemn funeral libations. He anointed the monument of *Achilles*, and as the ancient cuſtom was, ran naked about it with his friends, and crowned it with garlands, declaring, how happy he eſteemed him, in having while he lived, ſo faithful a friend as *Patroclus*, and when he was dead, ſo famous a poet as *Homer* to immortalize his actions. While he was viewing the reſt of the antiquities and curioſities of the place, being told he might ſee *Paris*'s harp, if he pleaſed, he ſaid, *He thought it not worth looking on, but he ſhould be glad to ſee that of* Achilles, *with which he had celebrated the glory and renowned actions of ſo many brave men* (5).

In the mean time *Darius*'s lieutenants had drawn together a great army, and lay encamped on the banks of the *Granicus*. This was in a manner the door leading out of *Europe* into *Aſia*, and *Alexander* was under a neceſſity of forcing it open by an engagement with the enemy. The depth of the river, with the unevenneſs and difficult aſcent of the oppoſite bank, which was to be gained by main force, was apprehended by ſome; and others were ſo ſuperſtitious as to think it an improper time to engage, becauſe it was unuſual for the kings of *Macedonia* to march with their forces in the month of *June*. But *Alexander* broke through theſe ſcruples, telling them, they ſhould call it a ſecond *May*. And when *Parmenio* adviſed him not to attempt any thing that day, becauſe it was late, he told him, *That he ſhould affront the* Helleſpont *which he had lately paſſed, ſhould he fear the* Granicus. He therefore immediately entered the river with thirteen troops of horſe, and advanced againſt whole ſhowers of darts thrown from the other ſide,

(5) This alludes to that paſſage in the ninth book of the *Iliad*;

Amuſed at eaſe the God-like man they found,
Pleaſed with the ſolemn harp's harmonious

ſide, notwithſtanding the number of the enemy drawn up to oppoſe him, the diſadvantage of the ground, and the rapidity of the ſtream; ſo that this action ſeemed to have more of rage and madneſs in it, than of prudent conduct. However he perſiſted obſtinately to make good his paſſage, and at laſt with great difficulty climbing up the banks, which were very ſlippery by reaſon of the mud, he was forced to mingle among the thickeſt of the enemy, and fight hand to hand for a while, before he could bring his men, who were endeavouring ſtill to paſs, into any order. The enemy began the attack with loud ſhouts, and charging his cavalry with theirs, firſt fought with their javelins, and when they were broken, with their ſwords. And notwithſtanding many preſſed hard on *Alexander* himſelf (who was remarkable by his buckler and his creſt, on each ſide of which was a very large and beautiful plume of white feathers) yet he eſcaped unhurt, though his cuiraſs was pierced by a javelin at the joint. *Rhœſaces* and *Spithridates*, two *Perſian* commanders, attacked him at once; but he with great addreſs avoided *Spithridates*, and ſtruck his javelin with ſuch force againſt *Rhœſaces*'s cuiraſs that it broke in pieces, upon which he betook himſelf to his ſword. While they were thus engaged, *Spithridates* watching his opportunity came up on one ſide of him, and raiſing himſelf upon his horſe, gave him ſuch a blow with his battle-ax on the helmet, that he cut off the creſt of it, with one ſide of his plume; and the helmet itſelf could hardly reſiſt the force of the ſtroke, for the edge of the weapon penetrated ſo far as to touch the very hair of his head. But as *Spithridates* was about to repeat his ſtroke, *Clitus* prevented him by running him through the body with his ſpear. At the ſame time *Alexander* diſpatched *Rhœſaces* with his ſword. While the horſe were thus dan-

monions ſound.
With this he ſoothe his angry ſoul, and ſings
Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings.
Pope. Il. ix. 245, &c.

dangerouſly engaged, the *Macedonian* phalanx paſſed the river, and the foot on each ſide advanced to fight. But the enemy hardly ſuſtaining the firſt onſet, ſoon gave ground and fled, all but the *Grecian* mercenaries, who making a ſtand upon a riſing ground, deſired quarter, which *Alexander*, guided rather by paſſion than judgment, refuſed to grant, and charging them himſelf firſt, had his horſe (not *Bucephalus* but another) killed under him. In this attack upon theſe experienced and deſperate men, he had more of his ſoldiers killed and wounded than in all the reſt of the battle. The *Perſians* loſt in the engagement twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe (6). On *Alexander*'s ſide, as *Ariſtobulus* ſays, there were killed no more than thirty-four, nine of which were foot (7). To eternize their memory he erected a ſtatue of each of them in braſs of the workmanſhip of *Lyſippus* (8). And that the *Grecians* might participate the fruits of his victory, he ſhared the booty among them. Particularly to the *Athenians* he ſent three hundred bucklers; and upon all the reſt of the ſpoils he ordered this boaſting inſcription to be ſet: *Alexander the ſon of* Philip, *and all the* Grecians, *except the* Lacedæmonians, *won theſe from the* Barbarians *who inhabit* Aſia. All the plate and purple garments, and whatever elſe of any value he took from the *Perſians*, except a very ſmall quantity, he ſent as a preſent to his mother.

This

(6) Some copies read *ten thouſand foot*; and that is the number mentioned by *Diodorus*; and according to him the number of horſe was two thouſand, but according to *Arrian* only one thouſand.

(7) *Arrian* ſays that there were twenty-five of his friends killed, above ſixty of the other cavalry, and thirty of the infantry.

(8) *Quintus Curtius* tells us that he paid this honour only to twenty-five of the cavalry, who were in the beginning of the action overpowered by numbers of the enemy. Theſe ſtatues were erected in a town of *Macedonia* called *Dia*, from whence *Q. Metellus* a long time after caused

This battle ſoon made a great change of affairs to *Alexander*'s advantage. For *Sardis* itſelf, the chief ſeat of the barbarian power in the maritime provinces, and many other conſiderable places, were ſurrendered to him; only *Halicarnaſſus* and *Miletus* ſtood out, which he ſoon took by force, together with the adjacent territories. After this he was a little unſettled in his opinion how to proceed: ſometimes he thought it beſt to find out *Darius* as ſoon as he could, and put all to the hazard of a battle; at other times he looked upon it as a more prudent courſe, to make an entire conqueſt of the ſea-coaſt, and not to ſeek the enemy till he was ſtrengthened by the addition of the wealth and forces of thoſe provinces. While he was thus deliberating what to do, it happened that a fountain near the city of *Xanthus* in *Lycia*, of its own accord ſwelled over its banks, and threw up a copper-plate upon the ſhore, on which was engraven in ancient characters, *That the time would come when the* Perſian *empire ſhould be deſtroyed by the* Grecians. Encouraged by this accident, he proceeded to reduce all the ſea-coaſt as far as *Phœnice* (9) and *Cilicia*. His paſſage through *Pamphylia* has been very pompouſly deſcribed by hiſtorians, and repreſented as in the higheſt degree marvellous and aſtoniſhing; as though by ſome divine power the waves which uſed to roll in impetuouſly from the main, and hardly ever leave the beach under the ſteep broken cliffs uncovered, retired to afford him a paſſage (1). *Menander* alludes to

cauſed them to be removed to *Rome*.

(9) *Phœnice*, as *Palmerius* has obſerved, was a territory in *Lycia* or *Pamphylia*.

(1) *Strabo* gives this account of it. *Near the city of* Phaſelis *between* Lycia *and* Pamphylia *there is a paſſage by the ſea ſide, through which* Alexander *marched his army. This paſſage is very narrow, and lies between the ſhore and the mountain* Climax, *which overlooks the* Pamphylian *ſea. It is dry at low water, ſo that travellers paſs through it with ſafety; but when the ſea is high it is all covered over. It was then the winter ſeaſon, and* Alexander, *who depended much upon his good fortune, was reſolved to ſet out without ſtaying till the floods were abated,*

to this extravagant ſtory in theſe verſes of one of his comedies;

Fortune to me is ſtrangely kind,
The very man I wiſh'd to find,
As if by magical device,
Starts up before me in a trice.
Should I deſire to croſs the ſea,
The waves would leave the paſſage free;
Secure I'd march from ſhore to ſhore.
Could Alexander's *ſelf do more?*

But *Alexander* in his epiſtles, mentions no ſuch extraordinary event, but ſays that in his march from *Phaſelis* he went through the paſſage called *Climax*. At *Phaſelis* he ſtaid ſome time; and finding the ſtatue of *Theodectes*, who was a native of that town, and was then dead, erected in the market-place, after he had ſupped, and drank plentifully, he went and danced about it, and crowned it with garlands; thus not ungracefully paying honour in his mirth to the memory of his friend, whoſe converſation he had formerly enjoyed, when he was *Ariſtotle*'s ſcholar.

Soon after this he ſubdued the *Piſidians* who made head againſt him, and conquered the *Phrygians*, at whoſe chief city *Gordium* (which is ſaid to have been the ſeat of the ancient *Midas*) he ſaw the famous chariot faſtened with cords made of the bark of the *Cornel-*

abated, ſo that his men were forced to march up to the middle in water. *Strabo*, L. xiv. *Quintus Curtius* has embelliſhed his narration with circumſtances partly true and partly miraculous.

(2) The ancients were very expert in tying knots of ſuch a curious contrivance, that it was impoſſible for one that was not in the ſecret to untie them. In the eighth book of the *Odyſſey*, *Ulyſſes* when he would ſecure the preſents made him by the *Phæacians* in a cheſt provided for that purpoſe, and prevent their being ſtolen at any time whilſt he was aſleep, corded the cheſt, and folded the ends of the cords in a moſt intricate knot, which had been taught him by *Circe*.

(3) It is in the text Ἀσγάνδης ὢν βασιλεύς. *Aſgandes, Aſcandes*

nel-Tree, and was informed that the inhabitants had a conſtant tradition, that the empire of the world was reſerved for him who ſhould untie the knot. Moſt are of opinion, that *Alexander* finding that he could not untie (2) it, becauſe the ends of it were ſecretly folded up within it, cut it aſunder with his ſword, ſo that ſeveral ends appeared. But *Ariſtobulus* tells us that he very eaſily undid it, by only pulling the pin out of the beam which faſtened the yoke to it, and afterwards drawing out the yoke itſelf. From hence he advanced into *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*, both which countries he ſoon reduced; and then hearing of the death of *Memnon*, the beſt commander *Darius* had upon the ſea-coaſts, who, if he had lived, might have put a great ſtop to the progreſs of his arms, he was the rather induced to carry the war into the upper provinces of *Aſia*.

Darius was by this time upon his march from *Suſa*, firmly confiding, not only in the number of his men, who amounted to ſix hundred thouſand, but likewiſe in a dream which the magicians interpreted rather in flattery to him, than with any regard to truth. He dreamed that he ſaw the *Macedonian* phalanx all on fire, and *Alexander* waiting on him clad in the ſame robe which he uſed to wear when he was (3) *Aſgandes* to the late King; after which going into the temple of *Belus*, he vaniſhed out of his ſight. By this dream, in my opinion, the Gods deſigned to ſhow him that the actions

candes, or *Aſtandes*, is without doubt a *Perſian* word. *Heſychius* explains it by ἄσγιλος, Ἀσκάνδης Ἄσγιλος, *Aſcandes a courier*. In another place he writes it ἀσάνδης ἡμεροδρόμος, it is otherwiſe defined ὁ ἐν διαδοχῇ γραμματοφόρος. The right name is *Aſtandes*, according to the Abbé *Renaudot*. The infinitive *Staden* ſignifies *Stare, iſtanda ſtator*, from whence comes the *Greek Aſtandes*, for it is indifferent how the firſt ſyllable is pronounced. *Aſtandes* is the ſame with what *Cicero* calls *Stator*. *Litteras a te mihi Stator tuus reddidit Tarſi*. *Your courier delivered me your letters at* Tarſus. *Darius* therefore muſt have been what we call a *State meſſenger*; or perhaps the *Perſians* gave that title to a more conſiderable officer, and it might denote the chief of the couriers, or Poſtmaſter-General.

actions of the *Macedonians* would be very illustrious, and that as he from an *Asgandes* had arrived at the crown, so *Alexander* should come to be master of *Asia*, and not long surviving his conquests, conclude his life with great glory. *Darius*'s confidence increased the more, because *Alexander* spent so much time in *Cilicia*, which he imputed to his cowardice: but it was sickness that detained him there, which some say he contracted by fatiguing himself too much, others by bathing in the river *Cydnus*, whose waters were exceeding cold. However it happened, none of his physicians would venture to give him any remedies, thinking his case desperate, and fearing the censure and resentment of the *Macedonians*, if they should fail in the cure; till *Philip* the *Acarnanian* considering his extreme danger, and confiding in his friendship, resolved to try the utmost efforts of his art, and rather hazard his own credit and life, than suffer him to perish for want of physick, which he confidently administered to him, encouraging him to take it boldly, if he desired a speedy recovery, in order to prosecute the war. At this very time *Parmenio* wrote to *Alexander* from the camp, bidding him beware of *Philip*, he being bribed to kill him by *Darius*, who had offered him great sums of money, and promised him his daughter in marriage. When he had perused the letter, he put it under his pillow, without showing it to any of his friends. At the hour appointed, *Philip*, attended by the other physicians, came into the bedchamber with the potion he had prepared for the King, who delivered him the letter to read, and at the same time swallowed the potion with great chearfulness and intrepidity. This was a very singular and striking scene, *Alexander* drinking the medicine, and *Philip* reading the letter at the same time, each looking earnestly upon the other, but with

(4) This *Amyntas* was the son of *Antiochus*. He retired out of *Macedonia* not on account of any ill treatment, but merely for

with different ſentiments; for *Alexander*'s looks were chearful and open, expreſſing his kindneſs to *Philip*, and his confidence in him; while the other ſeemed aſtoniſhed at the accuſation, and appealed to the Gods to witneſs his innocence, ſometimes lifting up his hands to heaven, and then throwing himſelf down by the bedſide, and beſeeching *Alexander* to lay aſide all fear, and rely on his fidelity. The medicine at firſt wrought ſo ſtrongly upon him, that it overcame his ſpirits, and brought him ſo low that he loſt his ſpeech, and falling into a ſwoon had ſcarce any ſenſe left; but ſoon after by *Philip*'s means his health and ſtrength returned, and he ſhowed himſelf in publick to the *Macedonians*, who were in continual fear and dejection till they ſaw him abroad again.

There was at this time in *Darius*'s army a *Macedonian* fugitive, named *Amyntas* (4), who was well acquainted with *Alexander*'s temper. This man, when he ſaw that *Darius* intended to march through the ſtrait paſſages in order to meet the enemy, adviſed him rather to remain in the open country, as he had ſo great an army, and was to engage with one much interior in number. *Darius* told him he was afraid the enemy would endeavour to run away, and ſo *Alexander* would eſcape out of his hands. *That fear*, replied *Amyntas*, *is needleſs, for you may aſſure yourſelf that far from avoiding you, he will make all the ſpeed he can to meet you, and is now on his march towards you.* But *Amyntas*'s counſel was to no purpoſe, for *Darius* immediately decamping, marched into *Cilicia*, at the ſame time that *Alexander* advanced into *Syria* to meet him; but miſſing one another in the night, they both came back again. *Alexander*, being highly pleaſed with the accident, made all the haſte he could to fight in the narrow paſſages, while *Darius* ſtrove to recover his former ground, and draw his army out of ſo

for fear of the King; for as he hated *Alexander*, he concluded that he was hated by him.

(5) *Dia-*

ſo diſadvantageous a place. For now he began to perceive his error in engaging too far into a country, which by reaſon of the ſea, the mountains, and the river *Pinarus* which ran through the midſt of it, would neceſſitate him to divide his forces, render his horſe almoſt unſerviceable, and only cover and ſupply the weakneſs of the enemy. Fortune having afforded ſo favourable a ſituation to *Alexander*, he was careful to improve it to the beſt advantage. For though much inferior in numbers, he would not ſuffer himſelf to be encloſed, but ſtretched his right wing much further out than the left of the enemy's, and fighting there himſelf in the very foremoſt ranks, put the barbarians to flight. In this battle he was wounded in the thigh by *Darius*, (as *Chares* ſays) with whom he fought hand to hand. But in the account which he himſelf gave *Antipater* of the battle, though indeed he owns that he was wounded in the thigh with a ſword, though not dangerouſly, he takes no notice who it was that wounded him.

Nothing was wanting to compleat this glorious victory, which he had gained at the expence of above an hundred and ten thouſand (5) of his enemies lives, but the taking the perſon of *Darius*, who eſcaped very narrowly by flight, having the ſtart of him by only four or five furlongs. However having taken his chariot and his bow, he returned from purſuing him, and found his own men buſy in pillaging the camp of the barbarians, which was exceedingly rich; though *Darius* thinking it unſafe to take the field with too much baggage, had left moſt of it behind at *Damaſcus*. But they reſerved for *Alexander* himſelf the tent of *Darius*, which was filled with attendants richly clothed, with coſtly furniture, and vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver. After he had put off his armour he went to bathe, ſaying, *Let us now cleanſe and refreſh ourſelves after the fatigues of the battle, in* Darius's *bath.*

Not

(5) *Diodorus* ſays an hundred and thirty thouſand.

(6) This

Not ſo, replied one of his followers, *but in* Alexander's *rather, for the goods of the vanquiſhed are and always ought to be reputed the conqueror's.* Here, when he beheld the bathing veſſels, the water-pots, vials, and ointment boxes all of gold, curiouſly wrought, and ſmelt the fragrant odours with which the whole place was exquiſitely perfumed, and from thence paſſed into another lofty and ſpacious apartment, where the couches, the table, and the entertainment were wonderfully magnificent, he turned to thoſe about him, and ſaid, *This, it ſeems, it was to be a King.*

As he was going to ſupper, word was brought him that *Darius*'s mother and wife, and two unmarried daughters, being taken among the reſt of the priſoners, upon the ſight of his chariot and bow burſt into the moſt violent lamentation, imagining him to be dead. After a little pauſe, more pitying their affliction than rejoicing in his own ſucceſs, he ſent *Leonatus* to them, to let them know *Darius* was not dead, and that they need not be afraid of *Alexander*, who made war upon *Darius* only for dominion; and that they ſhould find themſelves as well provided for as ever they were in *Darius*'s moſt flouriſhing condition, when his empire was entire. This kind meſſage could not but be very welcome to the captive princeſſes, eſpecially as it was followed by actions no leſs humane and generous: for he gave them leave to bury whom they pleaſed of the *Perſians*, and to make uſe of what garments and furniture they thought fit out of the booty. He diminiſhed nothing of their equipage, or of the reſpect formerly paid them, and allowed larger penſions for their maintenance, than ever they had before. But the nobleſt and moſt royal inſtance of his generoſity was, that he never ſuffered thoſe illuſtrious and virtuous priſoners to hear or even to apprehend and ſuſpect any thing that was indecent; ſo that they ſeemed lodged in ſome temple, or ſacred retreat of virgins, where they enjoyed an undiſturbed privacy, rather than in the camp of an

enemy. Not that he wanted temptation, for *Darius*'s wife was accounted the moſt beautiful Princeſs then living, as her huſband was the talleſt and comelieſt man of his time; and the daughters were no leſs beautiful than their parents. But *Alexander* eſteeming it more glorious to govern himſelf than to conquer his enemies, touched none of them, nor enjoyed any other woman before marriage, except *Barſina*, *Memnon*'s widow, who was taken priſoner at *Damaſcus*. She was very knowing in the *Grecian* learning, and of an amiable temper; and her father *Artabazus* was the ſon of the King's daughter. *Alexander* therefore being urged by *Parmenio* (as *Ariſtobulus* tells us) was deſirous to obtain the poſſeſſion of a woman in whom beauty was joined with an illuſtrious deſcent and an exalted mind. Of the reſt of the female captives, though they were tall and beautiful, he took no further notice than to ſay jocoſely; *What eye-ſores theſe Perſian women are!* To the beauty of their perſons he oppoſed as a countercharm the beauty of temperance and continence; ſo that he viewed them with as little emotion as if they had been lifeleſs ſtatues. And when *Philoxenus*, his lieutenant on the ſea-coaſt, wrote to him to know if he would buy two very fine boys, which one *Theodorus a Tarentine* had to ſell, he was ſo offended, that he often cried out aloud to his friends, *What baſeneſs has* Philoxenus *ever obſerved in me, that he ſhould preſume to make me ſuch a reproachful offer?* And immediately wrote him a very ſharp letter commanding him to diſmiſs *Theodorus*, and his vile merchandize with diſgrace. Nor was he leſs ſevere to *Agnon*, who ſent him word he would buy a *Corinthian* youth celebrated for his beauty named *Crobylus*, to preſent him with. And hearing that *Damon* and *Timotheus*, two of *Parmenio*'s ſoldiers, had abuſed the

(6) This Princeſs was the daughter of *Hecatomnus* King of *Caria*. After the death of *Mauſolus* her eldeſt brother, and his conſort *Artemiſia*, who died without children, ſhe ſucceeded in the kingdom with her brother *Hidreus*, to whom ſhe had been married.

the wives of ſome ſtrangers who were in his pay, he wrote to *Parmenio*, charging him ſtrictly, if he found them guilty, to put them to death, like thoſe noxious animals whom nature has formed to poiſon and deſtroy mankind. In the ſame letter he added, *that he had not ſo much as ſeen, or deſired to ſee, the wife of* Darius, *no, nor ſuffered any body to ſpeak of her beauty before him.* He uſed to ſay, *that ſleep, and the act of generation, chiefly made him ſenſible that he was mortal; becauſe wearineſs and pleaſure both proceeded from the ſame frailty and imbecillity of human nature.*

In his diet he was extremely temperate, as appears among other proofs, by what he ſaid to (6) *Ada*, whom he called his mother, and afterwards created Queen of *Caria*. For when ſhe out of kindneſs ſent him every day many curious diſhes, and ſweetmeats, and would have furniſhed him with ſuch cooks and makers of paſtry as were excellent in their kind, he told her, *He wanted none of them, his preceptor* Leonidas *having already given him the beſt, for he taught him by marching before day-light to prepare for his dinner, and by dining moderately to create an appetite for ſupper.* And he added, *that* Leonidas *uſed to open and ſearch the furniture of his chamber and his wardrobe, to ſee if his mother had put there any thing that was nice or ſuperfluous.* He was much leſs addicted to wine than was generally believed. That which gave people occaſion to think ſo of him, was, that when he had nothing elſe to do, he loved to ſit long at table, though he diſcourſed rather than drank, and talked a great while between every glaſs. For when his affairs called upon him, he would not be detained as other generals often were, either by wine, or ſleep, nuptial ſolemnities, ſpectacles, or any other diverſion whatſoever: a convincing argument of which is, that in the ſhort

married. Her huſband dying before her, *Pexodarus* her third brother dethroned her, and after his death his ſon-in-law *Orontobates* uſurped the crown. But *Alexander* reſtored her to the poſſeſſion of her dominions.

(7) *Quintus*

ſhort time he lived, he accompliſhed ſo many great actions. When he was free from employment his manner of life was this: as ſoon as he roſe he ſacrificed to the Gods; he then ſat down to dinner, and ſpent the reſt of the day either in hunting, or in diſciplining and regulating his ſoldiers, or in reading. In marches that required no great haſte, he would learn to ſhoot as he went along, or to mount a chariot and alight from it in full ſpeed. Sometimes, as his journals tell us, he would divert himſelf with fox-hunting, and fowling; and when he came to the place where he was to lodge, after he had bathed, and was anointed, he would call for his bakers, and chief cooks, to know if they had made the neceſſary preparations for ſupper. He never ſupped early nor before it was quite dark; and he was extremely careful at meals that no one ſhould be neglected, and that all who ſat with him ſhould be ſerved alike. His talkative humour, as I mentioned before, made him delight to ſit long at table; and then, though otherwiſe no Prince's converſation was ever ſo agreeable, and though he was poſſeſſed of all the charms and graces of diſcourſe, he would talk in ſo vaunting and oſtentatious a ſtrain, and dwell ſo much on his military exploits, that he gave his flatterers a great advantage over him, and cauſed great diſguſt to the ſenſible part of the company, who though they diſdained to contend with the others in flattery, yet were afraid to praiſe him leſs; ſo that between the ſhame and the danger they were greatly at a loſs how to conduct themſelves. After he roſe from table he uſed to bathe, and then went to reſt; and he would often ſleep till noon, and ſometimes all day long. He was ſo very temperate in his diet, that when any excellent fiſh or fruits were ſent him, he would diſtribute them among his friends, and hardly reſerve any for his own

(7) *Quintus Curtius* ſays they bound the ſtatue of *Apollo* with a golden chain, and faſtened it to the altar of *Hercules*; to whom the

own eating. His table however was always magnificent, the expence of it ſtill encreaſing with his good fortune, till it amounted to ten thouſand drachmas a day, to which ſum he limited it; and he would never ſuffer any one to lay out more than this in an entertainment to which he was invited.

After the battle of *Iſſus*, he ſent to *Damaſcus* to ſeize upon the money and baggage, the wives and children of the *Perſians*, of which the *Theſſalian* horſemen had the greateſt ſhare; for as they had greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their bravery in the fight, he ſent them thither on purpoſe to make their reward ſuitable to their courage: not but that the reſt of the army conſiderably enriched themſelves. This firſt gave the *Macedonians* ſuch a taſte of the wealth, women, and manner of living of the *Perſians*, that they purſued and traced their gold with the eagerneſs and ardour of hounds upon a ſcent. *Alexander*, before he proceeded any further, thought it neceſſary to make himſelf maſter of the ſea-coaſt. Thoſe who governed in *Cyprus*, put that iſland into his poſſeſſion; and all *Phœnicia*, except *Tyre*, was ſurrendered to him without reſiſtance. During the ſiege of this city, which with mounts of earth caſt up, and battering engines, and two hundred galleys by ſea, was carried on for ſeven months together, he dreamed that he ſaw *Hercules* upon the walls, reaching out his hand, and calling to him. And many of the *Tyrians* in their ſleep fancied that *Apollo* told them he was diſpleaſed with their actions, and was about to leave them, and go over to *Alexander*. Upon which, as if the God were a fugitive taken in the fact, (7) they chained his ſtatue, and nailed it to the pedeſtal, calling him an *Alexandriſt*. Another time *Alexander* dreamed that he ſaw a ſatyr mocking him at a diſtance, and when he endeavoured to catch him, he ſtill eſcaped from him,

the city was dedicated, thinking by his means to hinder the other from deſerting them.

(8) i. e. Σὰ

him, till at laſt after much entreaty, and a long purſuit he ſuffered him to take hold of him. The ſoothſayers making two words of *Satyros*, aſſured him (8) Tyre *was his own*. The inhabitants at this time ſhow the fountain near which *Alexander* ſlept, when he fancied the ſatyr appeared to him.

While the body of the army lay before *Tyre*, he made a ſhort excurſion againſt the *Arabians*, who inhabit mount *Antilibanus*. There he hazarded his life, to bring off his maſter *Lyſimachus*, who would needs go along with him, boaſting that he was neither older, nor inferior in courage to *Phœnix*, *Achilles*'s tutor, whoſe name he affected to bear. For when quitting their horſes, they marched up the hill on foot, the reſt of the ſoldiers outwent them a great deal; for night drawing on, and the enemy being near, *Alexander* would not leave *Lyſimachus* who was ſpent and fatigued, but ſtayed behind to encourage and help him; ſo that before he was aware, he found that he was a great way from his army with a ſlender attendance, and that he muſt paſs the night, which was extremely dark and cold, in a very uncomfortable place. At laſt ſeeing a great many ſcattered fires of the enemy at ſome diſtance, and truſting to his agility of body, and being always uſed, by ſhowing himſelf indefatigable in labour, to relieve and ſupport the *Macedonians* in their diſtreſs, he ran to one of the neareſt fires, and with his dagger killing two of the barbarians that ſat by it, ſnatched up a lighted brand, and returned with it to his own men, who immediately made a great fire, which ſo terrified the enemy, that moſt of them fled, and thoſe that aſſaulted them were ſoon routed, by which means they lodged ſecurely the reſt of the night. This action is related by *Chares*.

But to return to the ſiege, it had this iſſue. *Alexander*, that he might refreſh his army, haraſſed with many former encounters, drew out only a ſmall party, rather

(8) i. e. Σὰ τύρος, *tua erit Tyrus*.

(9) The

rather to keep the enemy employed, than with any proſpect of much advantage. It happened at this time, that *Ariſtander* after he had ſacrificed and viewed the entrails, affirmed confidently to thoſe who ſtood by, that the city would be certainly taken that very month. This prediction was received with great laughter and contempt, that day being the laſt of the month. But the King taking notice of his perplexity, and always favouring predictions, commanded that they ſhould not reckon that the thirtieth but the twenty-eighth day of the month, and ordering the trumpets to ſound, attacked the walls more vigorouſly than he at firſt intended. The fury of the aſſault ſo inflamed the reſt of his forces who were left in the camp, that they could not refrain from advancing to ſecond it; and the *Tyrians* not being able to withſtand them, the town was taken that very day. Afterwards while he was employed in the ſiege of *Gaza* the metropolis of *Syria*, a bird flying over him, let a clod of earth fall upon his ſhoulder, and then ſettling upon one of the battering engines, was ſuddenly entangled in the thongs by which the ropes of the machine were turned. This was agreeable to *Ariſtander*'s prediction, who foretold that *Alexander* ſhould be wounded in the ſhoulder, and the city reduced.

From hence he ſent great part of the ſpoils to *Olympias*, *Cleopatra*, and the reſt of his friends, not omitting his preceptor *Leonidas*, on whom he beſtowed five hundred talents weight of frankincenſe, and an hundred of myrrh, prompted to it by the remembrance of the hopes which *Leonidas* had of him when he was but a child. For *Leonidas*, it ſeems, ſeeing him one day while he was ſacrificing fill both his hands with frankincenſe, and throw it into the fire, told him *it became him to be more ſparing in offerings then, and not to be ſo profuſe till he was maſter of the countries where thoſe rich gums were produced.* Upon this account *Alexander* wrote him word *that he had ſent him a large quantity*

of myrrh and frankincenſe, that for the future he might not be ſo niggardly to the Gods.

Among the treaſures and other booty taken from *Darius*, there was a very rich and curious caſket, which being preſented to *Alexander*, he aſked thoſe about him what they thought fitteſt to be laid up in it; and when each had delivered his opinion, he told them he eſteemed nothing ſo worthy to be preſerved in it as *Homer*'s *Iliad*. This ſtory is atteſted by many credible authors; and if that be true which the inhabitants of *Alexandria*, relying upon the credit of *Heraclides*, tell us, *Homer* was not an idle nor unprofitable companion to him in his expedition. For when he was maſter of *Egypt*, deſigning to ſettle a colony of *Grecians* there, he reſolved to build a large and populous city, and give it his own name. After he had meaſured and incloſed the ground with the advice of his workmen, he one night in his ſleep ſaw a wonderful viſion: a grey-headed old man, of a venerable aſpect, appeared to ſtand by him, and pronounce theſe verſes:

High o'er a gulphy ſea the Pharian *iſle*
Fronts the deep roar of diſemboguing Nile. Pope.

Alexander upon this immediately roſe up and went to *Pharos*, which at that time was an iſland lying a little above the *Canobick* mouth of the *Nile*, though now it is joined to the continent by a cauſeway. As ſoon as he ſaw the commodious ſituation of the place oppoſite to the iſland, it being a neck of land of a ſuitable breadth, having on one ſide a great lake, and on the other the ſea which there forms a capacious haven, he ſaid, *Homer*, beſide his other excellencies, was a very good architect; and ordered the plan of a city to be drawn anſwerable to the place. For want of chalk, the ſoil being black, they made uſe of flower, with which they drew a line about the ſemicircular bay that forms the haven; this was again incloſed

incloſed by ſtrait lines, and the figure of the city reſembled that of a *Macedonian* cloak. While he was pleaſing himſelf with his deſign, on a ſudden an infinite number of great birds of ſeveral kinds, riſing like a black cloud out of the river and the lake, devoured all the flower that was uſed in marking out the lines; at which omen *Alexander* was much troubled, till the augurs encouraged him to proceed, by telling him it was a ſign that the city he was about to build, would enjoy ſuch plenty of all things, that it would contribute to the nouriſhment and ſupport of many nations. He therefore commanded the workmen to go on, while he went to viſit the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*.

This was a long, laborious and difficult journey, and dangerous in two reſpects: firſt, becauſe of the want of water, on which account the county is quite uninhabited for the ſpace of many days journey; and, ſecondly, becauſe of the violence of the ſouth-wind, which might riſe upon them, while they were travelling through the vaſt deep ſands, as it did formerly upon *Cambyſes*'s army, blowing the ſand together in heaps, and rolling it in waves upon his men, till fifty thouſand were ſwallowed up and deſtroyed by it. All theſe difficulties were weighed and repreſented to him; but *Alexander* was not eaſily to be diverted from any thing he was bent upon. For fortune having hitherto ſeconded him in his deſigns, made him obſtinate in his reſolutions; and the greatneſs of his mind raiſed a confidence in him of ſurmounting almoſt invincible difficulties; as if it were not enough to be always victorious in the field, unleſs places, and ſeaſons, and nature herſelf ſubmitted to him. The relief and aſſiſtance he met with through all the difficulties of his journey were more generally believed to proceed from the Gods, than the Oracles he received afterwards; and it may be added, that this relief and aſſiſtance contributed in ſome meaſure to procure greater credit to thoſe Oracles. For

firſt, the plentiful rains that fell, preſerved them from the danger of thirſt, and allaying the extreme dryneſs of the ſand, not only rendered it moiſt and firm, but alſo cleared the air and made it fitter for reſpiration. Beſides, when they were out of their way, and were wandering up and down, becauſe the marks which uſed to direct the guides were diſordered and loſt, they were ſet right again by ſome ravens who flew before them in their march, and waited for them when they halted. But the greateſt miracle of all was, that if any of the company went aſtray in the night, theſe birds never ceaſed croaking and making a noiſe, as *Calliſthenes* informs us, till by that means they had brought them into the right way again. Having paſſed through the deſart, they came to the city, where the High-prieſt welcomed *Alexander* from his father *Ammon*; and being aſked by him whether any of his father's murderers had eſcaped puniſhment, he charged him *to ſpeak with more reſpect, for his father was not mortal.* Then *Alexander* changing the terms deſired to know of him, *if any of thoſe who murdered* Philip *were yet unpuniſhed*; and alſo, *Whether the empire of the world was reſerved for him?* The God anſwered, *that he ſhould obtain it, and that* Philip's *death was fully revenged.* This gave him ſo much ſatisfaction, that he made ſplendid offerings to *Jupiter*, and gave the prieſts very rich preſents. This is what moſt authors write concerning the Oracles: but *Alexander*, in a letter to his mother, tells her, there were ſome ſecret anſwers, which at his return he would communicate to her only. Others ſay, that the prieſt, deſiring to uſe a kind and tender expreſſion, and to call *Alexander* in the *Greek* tongue *Paidion*, which ſignifies *My Son*, miſtaking the pronunciation, uſed the *S* inſtead of the *N*, and ſaid *Paidios*, or *Son of Jupiter.*

Alexander

(9) The ſaying of *Anaxarchus* does not appear to ſo much advantage here as in *Diogenes*, and the ſenſe *Plutarch* puts upon it is forced, and nothing to the purpoſe. There is one more true, and

Alexander was very well pleaſed with this miſtake; and hence the report aroſe that the Oracle had called him the ſon of *Jupiter*.

Among the ſayings of one *Pſammon*, a philoſopher, whom he converſed with in *Egypt*, he moſt approved of this, *That all men are governed by God, becauſe in every thing that which is chief and commands is divine.* But what he pronounced himſelf upon this ſubject, was more like a philoſopher; for he ſaid, *God was the common father of all, but more particularly of good men.* To the barbarians he behaved with great haughtineſs, as if he were fully perſuaded of his divine original; but to the *Grecians* more moderately, and with leſs affectation of divinity; except in his letter to the *Athenians* concerning *Samos*, where he tells them *they held not that free and ſplendid city by virtue of his gift, but from the bounty of him who at that time was called his ſovereign and father*, meaning *Philip*. However, afterwards being wounded with an arrow, and feeling much pain, he turned to thoſe about him, and told them, that it was real blood that dropped from him, and not the *Ichor*,

Such as th' immortal Gods were wont to ſhed.

Another time when it thundered ſo much that every body was afraid, and *Anaxarchus* the ſophiſt aſked him, *If he who was* Jupiter's *own ſon could thunder too? Alexander* replied laughing, *I do not chuſe to frighten my friends, as you would have me, who deſpiſed my table for being furniſhed with fiſh, and not with the heads of governors of provinces.* For it is certain, that (9) *Anaxarchus* ſeeing a preſent of ſmall fiſhes, which the King ſent to *Hephæſtion*, expreſſed himſelf in that manner, to ridicule thoſe who take great pains, and run

and more natural, of which the judgment is left to the reader. *Anaxarchus* mortally hated *Nicocreon* tyrant of *Salamis*. *Alexander* having one day invited him to dinner, aſked him how he

run deſperate hazards in purſuit of ſuch things as are the common objects of admiration, while in reality they have little more pleaſure or enjoyment than others. From what I have ſaid upon this ſubject, it is apparent, that *Alexander* was not ſo arrogantly vain as to think himſelf really a God, but only uſed this pretence that others might more readily ſubmit to him.

At his return out of *Egypt* into *Phœnicia*, he ſacrificed and made ſolemn proceſſions, to which were added choruſes of dancing and the repreſentation of tragedies. And theſe ſpectacles were remarkable both for the ſplendor of the furniture and ornaments, and for the zeal and contention of thoſe who exhibited them. For the kings of *Cyprus* were at the charge of them, in the ſame manner as thoſe perſons are at *Athens*, who are choſen by lot out of the tribes. And indeed, they ſtrove with wonderful emulation to outvie each other; chiefly *Nicocreon* King of *Salamis*, and *Paſicrates* of *Soli*, who were appointed to procure the moſt celebrated actors; and *Paſicrates* procured *Athenodorus*, and *Nicocreon Theſſalus*. *Theſſalus* was moſt favoured by *Alexander*, though this did not appear till *Athenodorus* was declared victor by the plurality of ſuffrages. For then at his going away, he ſaid that the judges deſerved to be commended for what they had done, but that he would willingly have loſt part of his kingdom, rather than have ſeen *Theſſalus* overcome. However, when he underſtood that *Athenodorus* was fined by the *Athenians*, for being abſent from the feſtival celebrated in honour of *Bacchus*, though he refuſed his requeſt of writing in his behalf, yet he paid the fine for him. Another time, *Lycon* of *Scarphia*

he liked his entertainment. *It is moſt excellent*, replied *Anaxarchus, it wants but one diſh, and that a delicious one, the head of a tyrant*; meaning *Nicocreon*. Here the ſenſe is clear. But the philoſopher paid dear for it; for after the death of *Alexander* he was forced by contrary winds upon the coaſts of *Cyprus*, where the tyrant ſeized him, and put him to death.

(1) In-

phia happened to act with great applauſe in the theatre, and inſerted a verſe in his part, by which he begged ten talents of *Alexander*; who laughed and gave him the money.

About this time *Darius* ſent a letter and ſome of his friends to him, beſeeching him to accept of ten thouſand talents as a ranſom for the captives, and offering him one of his daughters in marriage, with a ceſſion of all the countries on this ſide the *Euphrates* (1), on condition he would enter into a treaty of friendſhip and alliance with him. He communicated theſe propoſitions to his friends, and when *Parmenio* ſaid, *If I were* Alexander, *I would accept them*; (2) *ſo would I*, ſaid the King, *if I were* Parmenio. His anſwer to *Darius* was, *that if he would yield himſelf up into his power, he would treat him with all imaginable kindneſs; if not, he was reſolved immediately to advance towards him.* But the death of *Darius*'s wife, who died in childbed, made him ſoon after repent of this reſolution; and it appeared that he was deeply concerned at being deprived of ſuch an opportunity of exerciſing his generoſity and humanity. He buried her, however, with all poſſible magnificence.

Among the eunuchs who waited in the Queen's chamber, and were taken priſoners with the women, there was one *Tyreus*, who getting out of the camp, fled away on horſeback to *Darius*, to inform him of his wife's death; which as ſoon as he heard, he could not forbear beating his head, and burſting into tears with lamentable outcries; *Alas!* ſaid he, *how great is the calamity of the* Perſians! *was it not enough that their King's conſort and ſiſter was a priſoner in her lifetime, but ſhe muſt, now ſhe is dead alſo, be deprived of the royal*

(1) Inſtead of the *Euphrates* *Diodorus* ſays the *Halys*.

(2) *Longinus* endeavouring in his ſeventh chapter to prove that it is peculiar to great men to let fall even in their familiar diſcourſe things great and extraordinary, quotes this anſwer of *Alexander* to *Parmenio*. *It muſt be allowed*, ſays he, *that none but* Alexander *could return ſuch an anſwer*.

royal obſequies? The eunuch replied, *As to her obſequies, or any other marks of honour and diſtinction due to a perſon of her birth and dignity, you have no reaſon to accuſe the ill fortune of your country; for to my knowledge neither your Queen* Statira *when alive, nor your mother, nor children, have wanted any thing of what they enjoyed in their former happy condition, except the light of your countenance, which I doubt not but the mighty* (3) Oromaſdes *will yet reſtore with greater ſplendor and glory than ever: neither at her death has any thing been omitted, that could render her obſequies ſolemn and illuſtrious; but on the contrary they have been honoured with the tears of your very enemies; for* Alexander *is as merciful after victory, as he is terrible in the field.* At the hearing of theſe words, ſuch was the grief and emotion of *Darius*'s mind, that he could not help entertaining ſome abſurd ſuſpicions. Wherefore taking *Tyreus* aſide into a more private apartment in his tent: *Unleſs thou likewiſe,* ſaid he to him, *haſt deſerted me together with the good fortune of* Perſia, *and art become a* Macedonian *in thy heart; if thou yet beareſt me any reſpect, and owneſt me for thy ſovereign, tell me, I charge thee, by the veneration thou payeſt to the light of* Mithras, *and this right hand of thy King; Do I not lament the leaſt of* Statira's *misfortunes? Have I not ſuffered ſomething more injurious and deplorable in her lifetime? And had I not been miſerable with leſs diſhonour, if I had met with a more cruel and inhuman enemy? For how is it poſſible a young man as he is, ſhould treat the wife of* Darius *with ſo much generoſity, without paſſing the bounds of a virtuous converſation?* Whilſt he was yet ſpeaking, *Tyreus* threw himſelf at his feet, and beſought him *neither to wrong* Alexander *ſo much, nor his dead wife and ſiſter, nor to deprive himſelf of the only conſolation he was capable of in his*

(3) Thus the *Perſians* called that God whom they took to be the good principle; and the author of evil they called *Arimanius*. The firſt was according to them the offspring of the pureſt light, and the other of darkneſs.

(4) The *Perſians* always called their throne *the throne of* Cyrus,

his adverſity, the firm belief that he was overcome by a man, whoſe virtues raiſed him far above the rank of human nature; adding, *that he ought to look upon* Alexander *with love and admiration, who had given no leſs proofs of his continence towards the* Perſian *women, than of his valour againſt the men.* The eunuch confirmed all he ſaid with dreadful oaths and imprecations, and further enlarged in the deſcription of *Alexander*'s moderation and magnanimity upon other occaſions. *Darius*, then returned into the next room, where before all his courtiers he lifted up his hands to heaven, and uttered this prayer; *Ye Gods, who preſide over the birth of men and the fate of kingdoms; grant above all things that I may reſtore the fortune of* Perſia, *and leave it in as flouriſhing a condition as I found it, and that by obtaining the victory, I may have it in my power to make ſome grateful returns to* Alexander, *for the kindneſs which in my adverſity he has ſhowed to thoſe who are deareſt to me. But if indeed the fatal time be come, which is to put a period to the* Perſian *monarchy; if our ruin be a debt that muſt be inevitably paid to the divine vengeance, and the viciſſitude of things; then I beſeech you grant, that no other man but* Alexander *may ſit upon the throne of* Cyrus (4). Theſe events and circumſtances are atteſted by moſt writers.

After *Alexander* had reduced all *Aſia* on this ſide the *Euphrates*, he advanced towards *Darius*, who was coming down againſt him with a million of men. In his march a very ridiculous accident happened. The ſervants who followed the camp, in ſport divided themſelves into two parties, and named the commander of one of them *Alexander*, and of the other *Darius*. At firſt they only pelted one another with clods of earth, afterwards they fell to fiſty-cuffs, and

rus, as well on account of the excellent qualities of that Prince, as becauſe he was looked upon as the founder of that empire, which he had ſo vaſtly enlarged by his conqueſts, for which reaſon *Horace* ſays,

Redditum Cyri ſolio Phraatem.

(5) In

and at laſt growing warm in the contention, they fought in good earneſt with ſtones and clubs, and could not eaſily be parted, till *Alexander* (who had been informed of the diſpute) ordered the two captains to decide the quarrel by ſingle combat, and armed him who bore his name himſelf, while *Philotas* did the ſame to the other who repreſented *Darius*. The whole army were ſpectators of this encounter, with minds prepared from the event to make a judgment of their own future ſucceſs. After the combatants had fought reſolutely for ſome time, he who was called *Alexander* had the better, and for a reward of his proweſs had twelve villages given him, with leave to clothe himſelf after the *Perſian* mode. Of this incident we are informed by *Eratoſthenes*.

The great battle that was fought with *Darius*, was not, as moſt writers tell us, at *Arbela*, but at (5) *Gaugamela*, which in their language ſignifies the *Camel's Houſe*; for one of their ancient kings, having eſcaped the purſuit of his enemies on a dromedary, in gratitude to the beaſt, ſettled him at this place, with an allowance of certain villages and rents for his maintenance. In the month *Boëdromion*, [*September*] about the beginning of the feſtival of the myſteries at *Athens*, there happened an eclipſe of the moon; and the eleventh night after that, the two armies being then

(5) In the plains of *Aturia* near *Arbela* is the village of *Gaugamela*, where *Darius* loſt his empire. *Gaugamela* properly ſignifies the *Camel's Houſe*, and was ſo called by *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, when he aſſigned it over as a maintenance for the camel who had ſuffered much with him in croſſing the deſart of *Scythia*. But the *Macedonians* obſerving it to be a poor inſignificant place, and that a conſiderable town ſtood near it called *Arbela* from *Arbelus* the ſon of *Athmonæus*, who was the founder of it, they choſe rather to diſtinguiſh the battle and victory by that name. *Strab.* lib. xv.

(6) Thus it ought to be read, Φόβῳ *to Fear*, and not Φοίβῳ *to Apollo*, or the *Sun*. *Alexander* ſacrificed thus to *Fear*, that he might prevent his troops from being terrified at the ſight of ſuch a formidable army, conſiſting of eight hundred thouſand foot, and two hundred thouſand horſe; for which reaſon *Plutarch* ſays he performed *certain ſecret ceremonies*.

then in view of one another, *Darius* kept his men in arms, and by torch-light took a general review of them. But *Alexander*, while his ſoldiers ſlept, ſpent the night before his tent with his ſoothſayer *Ariſtander*, performing certain ſecret ceremonies, and ſacrificing to (6) *Fear*. In the mean while the eldeſt of his commanders, and chiefly *Parmenio*, when they beheld all the plain between the river *Niphates*, and the *Gordyæan* mountains, ſhining with the lights and fires which were made by the barbarians, and heard the rude and confuſed voices out of their camp, the terror and noiſe of which reſembled the roaring of a vaſt ocean, they were ſo amazed at the the thoughts of ſuch a multitude, that after ſome conference among themſelves, they concluded it an enterprize too difficult and hazardous for them to engage ſo numerous an enemy in the day-time; and therefore meeting the King as he came from ſacrificing, they beſought him to attack *Darius* by night, that the darkneſs might conceal the horror and danger of the enſuing battle. To this he gave them that celebrated anſwer, *That he would not ſteal a victory*; which though ſome may think childiſh and vain, as if he played with danger, yet (7) others look upon it as an evidence that he confided in his preſent condition, and made a true judgment of the future, in not leaving *Darius*, in caſe

ceremonies. *Fear* was not without her altars; *Theſeus* himſelf ſacrificed to her, as we have ſeen in his life, Vol. I. p. 96. And *Plutarch* tells us in the life of *Agis* and *Cleomenes* that a chapel was built to *Fear* at *Sparta*, and that the *Lacedæmonians* honoured her not as one of thoſe Dæmons that are abhorred, and deteſted, nor as an evil pernicious Being; but on the contrary they were perſuaded that *Fear* was the bond of all good governments, that where there is fear there likewiſe is modeſty, and that valour proceeds from the fear of ſhame and reproach. From hence we may gather the reaſons, which induced the moſt valiant to ſacrifice to *Fear*.

(7) They judged rightly, and the reflection with which they backed their judgment was very true. *Alexander*'s anſwer on this occaſion is not only a great token of his confidence and magnanimity, but of his foreſight and penetration.

(8) *Hero-*

caſe he were worſted, ſo much as a pretence of trying his fortune any more; which he would certainly do, if he could impute his overthrow to the diſadvantage of the night, as he did before to the mountains, the narrow paſſages, and the ſea. For it was not to be imagined, that he, who had ſtill ſuch forces and large dominions left, ſhould give over the war for want of men or arms, till he had firſt loſt all courage and hope, by the conviction of an undeniable and manifeſt defeat. After they were gone, he laid himſelf down in his tent, and ſlept the reſt of the night more ſoundly than uſual, to the aſtoniſhment of the commanders, who came to him early in the morning, and were obliged themſelves to give order that the ſoldiers ſhould take a repaſt. But at laſt, there not being time to wait any longer, *Parmenio* went to his bedſide, and called him twice or thrice by his name till he awaked him, and then aſked him, *How it was poſſible, when he was to fight the moſt important battle of all, he could ſleep ſo ſecurely, as if he were already victorious. So I am*, ſaid *Alexander*, ſmiling, *ſince I am now no more put to the trouble of wandering about in purſuit of* Darius, *as long as he pleaſes to decline fighting, in a country of ſo large extent, and ſo waſted.* And not only before the engagement, but likewiſe in the extremeſt danger of it, he ſhowed the greatneſs of his courage, and the ſolidity of his judgment. For the left wing which *Parmenio* commanded was ſo violently charged by the *Bactrian* horſe, that it was diſordered, and forced to give ground, at the ſame time that *Mazæus* had ſent a party round about to fall upon thoſe who guarded the baggage, both which ſo terrified *Parmenio*, that he ſent meſſengers to acquaint *Alexander*, that the camp and baggage would be all loſt, unleſs he immediately relieved the rear, by a conſiderable reinforcement drawn out of the front. This meſſage being brought him juſt as he had given the ſignal to the right wing to charge, he bad the meſſengers tell *Parmenio*, *That he was certainly mad,*

and

and that the conſternation he was in had made him forget, that if they conquered they would be maſters of their enemies baggage; and that if they were defeated, inſtead of taking care of their wealth or ſlaves, they had nothing more to do, but to fight bravely and die with honour. When he had ſaid this, he put on his helmet, having put on the reſt of his armour before he came out of his tent, a ſhort coat of the *Sicilian* faſhion, girt cloſe about him, and over that a breaſtplate of linnen ſtrongly quilted, which was taken among other booty at the battle of *Iſſus*. The helmet which was made by *Theophilus*, though of iron, was ſo well wrought and poliſhed, that it was as bright as the fineſt ſilver. To this was fitted a gorget of the ſame metal, ſet with precious ſtones. His ſword, which was the weapon he generally uſed in battle, was given him by the King of the *Citieans*, and was of an admirable temper and lightneſs. But the belt which he wore alſo in all engagements, was of much richer workmanſhip than the reſt of his armour; it was made by old *Helicon*, and preſented him by the *Rhodians*, as a mark of their reſpect to him. Whenever he drew up his men, or rode about to give orders, or to inſtruct or review them, he favoured *Bucephalus* by reaſon of his age, and made uſe of another horſe; but when he was to fight, he ſent for him, and as ſoon as he was mounted the ſignal to begin the fight was immediately given. After he had made a long oration to the *Theſſalians*, and the reſt of the *Grecians*, who encouraged him with loud ſhouts, deſiring to be led on to the charge, he ſhifted his javelin into his left hand, and with his right lifted up towards heaven, beſought the Gods (as *Calliſthenes* writes) *that if he was indeed the ſon of* Jupiter, *they would be pleaſed to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen the* Grecians. At the ſame time *Ariſtander* the diviner, who had a white mantle about him, and a crown of gold on his head, rode by and ſhowed them an eagle flying over the head of *Alexander*, and directing his courſe towards the enemy. This

ſo animated the beholders, that after mutual encouragements and exhortations, the horſe charged at full ſpeed, and the *Phalanx* ruſhed on like a torrent. But before they could well come to blows with the firſt ranks, the barbarians ſhrunk back, and were cloſely purſued by *Alexander*, who drove them before him into the middle of the battle, where *Darius* himſelf was in perſon, whom he ſaw over the foremoſt ranks, conſpicuous in the midſt of his lifeguard; for he was a tall and comely man, and drawn in a lofty chariot, defended by a great number of the beſt of his cavalry, who ſtood cloſe in order about it, ready to receive the enemy. But *Alexander*'s approach was ſo terrible, forcing thoſe who gave back upon ſuch as ſtill maintained their ground, that they were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, and ſoon put to flight. A few of the braveſt and moſt reſolute among them maintained their poſt, till they were all ſlain in their King's preſence, and falling in heaps upon one another ſtrove in the very pangs of death to ſtop the purſuit, by clinging to the *Macedonians* as they fell, and catching hold of and intangling the feet of the horſes when they were fallen. *Darius* had now nothing but terror and deſtruction before his eyes. Thoſe who had placed themſelves in the front, to defend him, were broken, and forced back upon him. The wheels of his chariot were clogged, and entangled with the dead bodies, which lay in ſuch heaps about them, that they not only ſtopped, but almoſt covered the horſes, who began to fret and bound, and at laſt grew ſo unruly, that the charioteer could govern them no longer. In this extremity he was glad to quit his chariot and his arms, and mounting, as they ſay, upon a mare that had newly foaled, betook himſelf to flight. But he would not even then have eſcaped if *Parmenio* had not ſent freſh meſſengers to *Alexander*, to

(8) *Herodotus* has given us a ſuccinct account of this piece of hiſtory, lib. viii. 47. *Of all thoſe who dwelt on the other ſide, the* Crotoniates *were the only people who came to the ſuccour of* Greece

to deſire him to return, and aſſiſt him againſt a conſiderable body of the enemy which yet ſtood together, and would not give ground. Indeed *Parmenio* was on all hands accuſed of ſloth and inactivity; whether age had impaired his courage, or whether as *Calliſthenes* ſays, he envied and repined at his maſter's growing greatneſs. *Alexander*, though he was not a little vexed to be ſo recalled, and hindered from purſuing his victory, yet concealed the true reaſon from his men; and cauſing a retreat to be ſounded, as if it were too late to continue the ſlaughter any longer, he marched back towards the place of danger, and by the way was informed that the enemies were totally routed and put to flight.

This battle being thus ended, ſeemed to put a period to the *Perſian* empire; and *Alexander*, who was now proclaimed King of *Aſia*, returned thanks to the Gods in magnificent ſacrifices, and rewarded his friends and followers with money, houſes, and governments of provinces. To ingratiate himſelf with the *Grecians*, he wrote to them, that he would have all tyrannies aboliſhed, that they might govern themſelves by their own laws; and he in particular told the *Platæans*, that their city ſhould be rebuilt, becauſe their anceſtors permitted the *Grecians* to make their territories the ſeat of the war, when they fought with the barbarians for their common liberty. He ſent alſo part of the ſpoils into *Italy*, to the *Crotoniates*, (8) to honour the zeal and courage of their citizen *Phaylus* the wreſtler, who in the *Median* war, when the other *Grecian* colonies in *Italy* gave *Greece* for loſt, and refuſed to aſſiſt her, that he might have a ſhare in the danger, joined the fleet at *Salamin* with a veſſel equipped at his own charge. Such a regard had *Alexander* to every kind of virtue, and ſo deſirous was he to preſerve the memory of laudable actions.

From

Greece *on board a ſhip commanded by* Phaylus, *who had been three times crowned in the* Pythian *games.*

(9) There

From hence he marched through the province of *Babylon*, which without reſiſtance entirely ſubmitted to him. In the country about *Ecbatane* he was much ſurprized to ſee fire continually burſting like a ſpring out of a cleft of the earth; and not far from that a ſtream of *Naphtha*, ſo copious as to ſpread into a large lake. This *Naphtha*, in other reſpects reſembling *Bitumen*, is ſo inflamable that before it touches the flame, it will take fire at the very light of it, and often kindle the intermediate air. The barbarians, to ſhow the power and nature of it, ſprinkled the ſtreet that led to the King's lodgings with little drops of this liquor, and when it was almoſt night ſtood at the further end with torches, which they applied to the moiſtened places; and theſe firſt taking fire, in a moment it caught from one end to another, in ſuch a manner, that the whole ſtreet was one continued flame. *Alexander* had at that time in his ſervice a certain *Athenian* named *Athenophanes*. He was one of thoſe, whoſe buſineſs it was to wait on the King, and anoint him when he bathed, and had a peculiar art of diverting him, and relaxing his mind after he had been employed in ſerious affairs. One day whilſt the King was bathing there came into the room a boy called *Stephanus*, who was very homely, but an excellent ſinger. *Athenophanes* ſeeing him, ſaid to the King, *Sir, permit us to make an experiment of the* Naphtha *upon this youth: for if it takes fire upon his body, I ſhall allow it to be powerful indeed.* The youth readily conſented to undergo the trial; but as ſoon as he was anointed with it, his whole body broke out into ſuch a flame, that *Alexander* was exceedingly perplexed and concerned for him; and nothing could have prevented his being conſumed by it, if there had not been people at hand with a great many veſſels of water for the ſervice of the bath, with all which they were hardly able to extinguiſh the fire; and

(9) There is ſomething wanting in the original in this place.

(1) *Quintus*

and his body was ſo ſcorched with it that he long felt the bad effects of it. Thoſe therefore who endeavour to reconcile the fable with truth, ſay with great probability that this was the drug mentioned by the poets, with which *Medea* anointed the crown and veil which ſhe gave to *Creon*'s daughter. For the things could not take fire of themſelves, but upon the approach of ſome flame imperceptibly attracted and caught it. For the rays and emanations of fire at a diſtance, have no other effect upon ſome bodies, than merely to give them light and heat; but in others which are dry and porous, or in which there is an oily moiſture, they collect themſelves, and ſoon prey upon and alter the matter. The generation, or production of this *Naphtha* is a point that has not yet been agreed upon, it being a queſtion (9) whether it does not rather derive its inflammable quality from the unctuous and ſulphureous nature of the ſoil which produces it. For the ground in the province of *Babylon* is ſo very hot, that oftentimes the grains of barley leap up, and are thrown out, as if the violent inflammation had given a pulſation to the earth. And in extreme heats the inhabitants commonly ſleep upon ſkins filled with water. *Harpalus*, who was left Governor of this country, and was deſirous to adorn the palace, gardens, and walks, with *Grecian* plants, ſucceeded in the raiſing of all but ivy, which the earth would not bear, but conſtantly killed: for being a plant that loves a cold ſoil, the temper of that mold, which was violently hot, was improper for it. Such digreſſions as theſe the niceſt readers may endure, provided they are not too tedious.

At the taking of *Suſa*, *Alexander* found in the palace (1) forty thouſand talents in money ready coined, beſides an unſpeakable quantity of other treaſure and furniture; amongſt which was five thouſand talents worth of *Hermionick* purple, that had been laid up there

(1) *Quintus Curtius* ſays fifty thouſand.

there an hundred and ninety years, and yet kept its colour as freſh and lively as at firſt. The reaſon of which, they ſay, is, that they uſed honey in dying the purple, and white oil in the white tincture; and we are told that ſome of this is to be ſeen of the ſame age which ſtill preſerves its original beauty and luſtre. *Dinon* alſo relates, that among other things it was a cuſtom with the kings of *Perſia* to have water brought them from the *Nile* and the *Danube*, and laid up in the treaſury, as a proof of their extenſive power and univerſal empire.

The entrance into *Perſia* being very difficult, by reaſon of the unevenneſs of the ways, and becauſe *Darius*, who was retired thither, had ordered the paſſes to be guarded by the beſt of his forces, *Alexander* met with ſuch a guide as the *Pythian* prieſteſs had propheſied of when he was a child, ſaying, *That a* Lycian *ſhould conduct him in his journey into* Perſia; for by ſuch an one, whoſe father was a *Lycian*, and his mother a *Perſian*, and who ſpoke both languages, he was led into the country by a way ſomething about, yet without fetching any conſiderable compaſs. Here a great many of the priſoners were put to the ſword; of which he himſelf gives this account, that he commanded them to be killed, becauſe he thought it would be advantageous to his affairs. Nor was his booty in money leſs here than at *Suſa*; beſides which he found in other moveables and treaſure, as much as ten thouſand pair of mules and five thouſand (2) camels could well carry away.

In the palace *Alexander* ſaw a large ſtatue of *Xerxes*, which the ſoldiers, as they were preſſing in, had thrown on the ground. At the ſight of it he ſtood ſtill, and addreſſing himſelf to it as if it was alive, *Tell me*, ſaid he, *ſhall I paſs on, and leave thee proſtrate as thou art on the ground, becauſe thou invadedſt* Greece, *or ſhall I erect thee again in conſideration of the greatneſs*

(2) *Diodorus* ſays three thouſand.

(3) He

neſs of thy mind and thy other virtues? At laſt, after he had pauſed a conſiderable time, he went on, without taking any further notice of it. In this place he took up his winter-quarters, and ſtaid four months to refreſh his ſoldiers. It is ſaid, that the firſt time he ſat on the royal throne of *Perſia*, under a canopy of gold, *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, who had a great affection for *Alexander*, and had been one of his father's friends, wept, like an old man, and *deplored the misfortune of thoſe* Grecians *who had fallen in the wars and been deprived by death of the ſatisfaction of ſeeing* Alexander *placed on the throne of* Darius.

Before he ſet out from hence to march againſt *Darius*, he gave an entertainment to his friends, where he indulged in drinking and mirth, and even ſuffered every one's miſtreſs to ſhare in the entertainment. The moſt celebrated of them was *Thais* an *Athenian*, miſtreſs to *Ptolemy* who was afterwards King of *Egypt*. She ſometimes cunningly praiſed *Alexander*, and ſometimes jeſted with him, and all the while drank ſo freely, that at laſt ſhe began to talk extravagantly, and ſaid things which, though ſuitable to the country where ſhe was born, were much above her character and condition. She ſaid *ſhe was abundantly rewarded for the pains ſhe had taken in travelling all over* Aſia, *ſince that day ſhe could inſult over the ſtately palace of the* Perſian *monarchs:* but ſhe added, *it would pleaſe her much better, if while the King looked on, ſhe might in ſport, with her own hands, ſet fire to* Xerxes's *court, who reduced the city of* Athens *to aſhes; that it might be recorded to poſterity, that the women who followed* Alexander *had taken a ſharper revenge on the* Perſians, *for the ſufferings and affronts of* Greece, *than all her commanders had done in their ſeveral engagements by ſea and land.* What ſhe ſaid was received with ſuch univerſal approbation and loud applauſe, and ſo ſeconded by the zeal and eagerneſs of the company, that the King himſelf, being prevailed upon, ſtarted from his ſeat, and with a chaplet of flowers on his head, and

a lighted torch in his hand, led the way, while they following in a riotous manner with dancing and ſhouting, ſurrounded the palace. When the reſt of the *Macedonians* perceived what they were about, they alſo joyfully ran thither with their torches; for they hoped the burning and deſtruction of the royal palace was an argument that he looked homeward and had no deſign to reſide among the barbarians. Thus ſome writers relate this action; others ſay it was done deliberately; however, all agree that he ſoon repented of it and gave orders to have the fire extinguiſhed.

Alexander was naturally very munificent, and grew more ſo as his fortune increaſed; and his liberality was accompanied with that courteſy and kindneſs which is abſolutely neceſſary to make a benefit really obliging. I will mention a few inſtances of this kind. *Ariſto*, the Captain of the *Pæonians*, having killed an enemy, brought his head to him, and told him, *That among them ſuch a preſent was recompenced with a cup of gold. With an empty one*, ſaid *Alexander* ſmiling, *but I drink to you in this full of wine, and give it you.* Another time, as one of the common ſoldiers was driving a mule laden with ſome of the King's treaſure, the beaſt tired, ſo that he was forced to take it on his own back, and with much ado marched with it a good way, till *Alexander* ſeeing him ſo overcharged, aſked what was the matter; and when he was informed, juſt as the man was ready to lay down his burden for wearineſs, *Do not faint now*, ſaid he to him, *but keep on the reſt of thy way, and carry what thou haſt on thy back to thy own tent for thy own uſe.* He was always more diſpleaſed with thoſe who would not accept of his preſents, than with thoſe who begged them of him. And therefore he wrote to *Phocion*, *That he would not look upon him his friend any longer, if he*

(3) He means fifty young gentlemen brought to him by *Amyntas*. They were the ſons of the greateſt men in *Macedonia*. Their office was to wait on him at table, lead his horſes to

he refuſed to accept of what he had ſent him. Nor would he ever give any thing to *Serapion*, one of the youths that uſed to play at ball with him, becauſe he did not aſk of him; till one day as they were playing *Serapion* continually threw the ball to others, and when the King aſked him, *Why he did not direct it to him?* He anſwered, *Becauſe you did not aſk it*; the King laughed at the reply, and was very liberal to him afterwards. One *Proteas*, a pleaſant facetious man and a good table-companion, having incurred his diſpleaſure, deſired his friends to intercede for him, and begged pardon himſelf with tears, upon which *Alexander* declared he was reconciled to him. *I cannot believe it, Sir*, ſaid *Proteas*, *unleſs you firſt give me ſome pledge of your reconciliation.* The King preſently ordered him five talents. How generous he was in enriching his friends, and thoſe who attended on his perſon (3), appears by a letter which *Olympias* wrote to him, where ſhe ſays, *I do not blame you for rewarding your friends and diſplaying your munificence; but you make them all equal to kings, you give them power and opportunity to improve their own intereſt, and make many friends, and in the mean time do not conſider, that you leave yourſelf bare and deſtitute.* She often wrote to him to this purpoſe, and he never communicated her letters to any body, unleſs it were one which he opened when *Hephæſtion* was by, whom he permitted to read it along with him; but then, as ſoon as he had done, he took off his ring, and put the ſeal upon *Hephæſtion*'s lips, thereby recommending ſecrecy to him. *Maxeus*, who was the moſt conſiderable man in *Darius*'s court, had a ſon who was already governor of a province; *Alexander* offered to join another to it, which was more profitable, but he modeſtly refuſed it, and withal told him, that *inſtead of one* Darius, *he would make many* Alexanders. To *Parmenio* he

(3) to him when he went to fight, attend him when he hunted, and keep guard day and night at his chamber-door.

he gave *Bagoas*'s houſe, in which he found a wardrobe of apparel worth more than a thouſand talents. He wrote to *Antipater*, commanding him to keep a lifeguard about him, for the ſecurity of his perſon againſt conſpiracies. To his mother he ſent many preſents, but would never ſuffer her to meddle with affairs of ſtate or war; and when ſhe was diſpleaſed with him upon this account, he bore her ill humour very patiently. And once, when he had read a long letter from *Antipater*, full of accuſations againſt her, he ſaid, Antipater *ſeems not to know that one tear of a mother effaces a thouſand ſuch letters as theſe.*

But when he perceived his favourites grow ſo luxurious and extravagant in their way of living, that *Agnon* the *Teian* wore ſilver nails in his ſhoes; that *Leonatus* employed ſeveral camels only to bring him powder out of *Egypt* to uſe when he wreſtled; and that *Philotas* had toils to take wild beaſts, that reached an hundred furlongs in length; that more uſed precious ointments than plain oil when they went to bathe, and that they had ſervants every where with them, to rub them and wait upon them in their chambers; he reproved them like a philoſopher with great mildneſs and diſcretion, telling them, *he wondered that they who had been engaged in ſo many ſignal battles, ſhould not know by experience, that labour and induſtry made people ſleep more ſweetly and ſoundly than lazineſs; and that if they compared the* Perſian *manner of living with their own, they would be convinced it was the moſt abject, ſlaviſh condition in the world to be effeminate and voluptuous, and that nothing was more noble and princely than labour.* He aſked them beſides, *How it was poſſible for any one either to take care of his horſe, or to keep his armour bright and in good order, who thought much to let his hands be ſerviceable to what was deareſt to him, his own body. Are you ſtill to learn,* ſaid he, *that the end and perfection of our victories is to avoid the vices and*

(4) The Ichneumon is a ſmall animal, very common in *Egypt*. It is remarkable for its mortal enmity to the Aſpic and Crocodile,

and infirmities of thoſe whom we have ſubdued? And to ſtrengthen his precepts by example, he expoſed himſelf now more than ever to the fatigues of hunting and war, readily embracing all opportunities of hardſhip and danger; inſomuch that a *Spartan* ambaſſador, who one day chanced to be by when he encountered and maſtered a huge lion, ſaid, *Royalty, Sir, has been the prize, and you have fought bravely for it with the lion.* *Craterus* dedicated in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi* a repreſentation of this adventure in braſs; the figures of which it conſiſted were the lion and the dogs, the King engaged with the lion, and himſelf coming in to his aſſiſtance; ſome of which were made by *Lyſippus*, and the reſt by *Leochares*. In this manner did *Alexander* expoſe his perſon to danger, both inuring himſelf, and inciting others to the performance of brave and virtuous actions.

But his followers, who were now become rich and proud, longed to indulge themſelves in pleaſure and idleneſs, and grew weary of marching from place to place, and of undergoing the toils of war; nay they by degrees proceeded ſo far as to cenſure and reproach him. This at firſt he bore very patiently, ſaying, *It became a King to do well, and to be ill ſpoken of.* And indeed his behaviour to his friends even on ſlight and common occaſions was a continual proof of real kindneſs and reſpect. Of this I ſhall mention a few inſtances. Hearing that *Peuceſtas* had been bitten by a bear, he wrote to him, *That he took it unkindly, that he ſhould ſend others notice of it, and not make him acquainted with it*; *but now*, ſaid he, *ſince it is ſo, let me know how you do, and whether any of your companions forſook you when you were in danger, that I may puniſh them?* He ſent word to *Hephæſtion*, who was abſent about ſome buſineſs, *That while they were diverting themſelves with hunting an* (4) *Ichneumon*, Craterus *was by chance run through both thighs with* Perdiccas's *javelin.*

(4) dile, and for the tricks it uſes to get the better of two ſuch dangerous enemies. When it has to deal with the Aſpic it rolls itſelf

lin. Upon *Peuceſtas*'s recovery from a fit of ſickneſs, he ſent a letter of thanks to his phyſician *Alexippus*. When *Craterus* was ill he ſaw a viſion in his ſleep, after which he offered ſacrifices for his health, and commanded him to do ſo likewiſe. He wrote alſo to *Pauſanias* the phyſician, who was about to purge *Craterus* with hellebore, partly to expreſs his anxious concern for him, and partly to give him a caution how he uſed that medicine. He impriſoned *Ephialtes* and *Ciſſus*, who brought him the firſt news of *Harpalus*'s flight, and deſertion from his ſervice, as if they had falſely accuſed him. When he ſent the old and infirm ſoldiers home, *Eurylochus* the *Ægean* got his name enrolled among the ſick, though he ailed nothing; which being diſcovered, he confeſſed he was in love with a woman named *Teleſippa*, and was deſirous to go along with her to the ſea-ſide. *Alexander* enquired, *To whom the woman belonged?* and being told, *She was a courtezan, but of liberal birth: I will aſſiſt you*, ſaid he to *Eurylochus*, *all I can in your amour, if your miſtreſs be to be gained either by preſents or perſuaſions; but we muſt uſe no other means, becauſe ſhe is free-born.* It is ſurpriſing to conſider, upon what ſlight occaſions he would write letters to ſerve his friends. As when he wrote one, in which he gave orders to ſearch for a youth that belonged to *Seleucus*, who was run away into *Cilicia*. In another, he thanked and commended *Peuceſtas*, for apprehending *Nicon*, a ſervant of *Craterus*. And to *Megabyſus*, concerning a ſlave that had taken ſanctuary in a temple, he wrote, that he ſhould not meddle with him while he was there, but if he could entice him out by fair means, then he gave him leave to ſeize him. It is reported

itſelf ſeveral times together in the mud, and at every turn dries the dirt that ſticks round it in the ſun; ſo that when it has armed itſelf with ſeveral cruſts, as with ſo many coats of mail, it attacks the Aſpic boldly, and flies at its throat. When it is to encounter the Crocodile, it watches the moment when a little bird called *Trochylus* enters into the mouth of that animal to cleanſe

reported of him, that when he firſt ſat in judgment upon capital cauſes, he would lay his hand upon one of his ears, while the accuſer ſpoke, to keep it free and unprejudiced in behalf of the party accuſed. But afterwards multitude of accuſations being brought before him, and many of them proving true, this exaſperated him ſo much, that he gave credit to thoſe alſo that were falſe; and eſpecially when any one ſpoke ill of him, he would be ſo extravagantly tranſported, that he became cruel and inexorable; for he valued his glory and reputation far beyond either his life or kingdom.

He now marched in purſuit of *Darius*, expecting to hazard another battle. But hearing that he was taken, and ſecured by *Beſſus*, he ſent home the *Theſſalians*, and gave them a largeſs of two thouſand talents, over and above the pay that was due to them. This long and painful purſuit of *Darius*, (for in eleven days he marched three thouſand three hundred furlongs) harraſſed his ſoldiers ſo, that moſt of them were ready to faint, chiefly for want of water. While they were in this diſtreſs, it happened that ſome *Macedonians*, who had fetched water in ſkins upon their mules from a river they had found out, came about noon to the place where *Alexander* was, and ſeeing him almoſt choaked with thirſt, preſently filled an helmet, and offered it to him. He aſked them to whom they were carrying the water; they told him *to their children*; *but*, ſaid they, *if your life is preſerved, it is no matter for our children*; *if we loſe them, we can get more.* Then he took the helmet into his hands, and looking round about, when he ſaw all thoſe who were near him ſtretching their heads out, and earneſtly eyeing

cleanſe his jaws, and pick his teeth, feeding upon what he finds there; at which time the Crocodile, who is wonderfully pleaſed with the operation, falls aſleep with his mouth wide open, and the Ichneumon darts down his throat like an arrow, and gnaws his bowels. *Plin.* lib. 8. *Cap.* 24. 25.

(5) *Quintus*

ing the drink, he returned it again with thanks, without tasting a drop of it: *For*, said he, *if I only should drink, the rest will be quite out of heart and faint.* The soldiers no sooner saw his temperance and magnanimity upon this occasion, but they all cried out to him to lead them on boldly, and whipped their horses to make them mend their pace; *for whilst they had such a King*, they said, *they defied both weariness and thirst, and looked upon themselves to be little less than immortal.* But though they were all equally chearful and willing, yet not above sixty horse were able to keep up, and fall in with *Alexander* upon the enemy's camp; where riding over abundance of gold and silver that lay scattered about, and passing by a great many chariots full of children and women, that wandered here and there for want of drivers, they endeavoured to overtake the first of those that fled, in hopes to meet with *Darius* among them. At last with great difficulty they found him lying along in a chariot, all over wounded with darts, and just at the point of death. However, he desired they would give him some drink; and when he had drank a little cold water, he said to *Polystratus* who gave it him, *My friend, this compleats my misery, to receive a favour and not be able to return it. But* Alexander *will reward thee; and the Gods will reward him for his kindness to my mother, my wife, and my children. Tell him therefore that in token of my acknowledgment I give him this right hand:* at which words he took hold of *Polystratus*'s hand, and immediately expired. When *Alexander* came up to them, he was sensibly touched at the unfortunate end of so great a man, and pulling off his own coat, threw it upon the body to cover it. As soon as *Bessus* was taken, he ordered him to be torn in pieces in this manner. (5) They fastened him to a couple of tall strait trees, which were bent down so as to meet, and then

(5) *Quintus Curtius* tells us *Alexander* delivered the assassin up to *Oxathres* the brother of *Darius*, that when they had cut off

then being let looſe, with a great force returned to their places, each of them carrying that part of the body along with it that was tied to it. *Darius*'s body was ſent to his mother with all the pomp ſuitable to his quality. *Alexander* received his brother *Oxathres* into the number of his moſt intimate friends.

And now with the flower of his army he marched down into *Hyrcania*, where he ſaw a gulph of the ſea, not much leſs than the *Euxine*, and found its water ſweeter than that of other ſeas; but he could learn nothing of certainty concerning it, only he conjectured that it might be produced by the overflowing of the lake *Mæotis*, or at leaſt might have a communication with it. However the naturaliſts better informed of the truth, give us this account of it many years before *Alexander*'s expedition; that of four gulphs which out of the main ſea enter into the continent, this is the moſt northern, and is known by the name both of the *Hyrcanian* and *Caſpian* ſea. Here the barbarians unexpectedly meeting with thoſe who led *Bucephalus*, took them priſoners, and carried the horſe away with them; which *Alexander* was ſo offended at, that he ſent an herald to let them know, he would put them all to the ſword, men, women, and children, without mercy, if they did not reſtore him. Upon this they immediately obeyed, and at the ſame time ſurrendered their cities into his hands. He treated them all very kindly, and paid a conſiderable ranſom for his horſe to thoſe who took him.

From hence he marched into *Parthia*, where not having much to do, he firſt put on the barbarick habit, which compliance perhaps he uſed in order to civilize the inhabitants; for nothing gains more upon men, than a conformity to their faſhions and cuſtoms; or it may be he did it to try whether the *Macedonians* would be brought to adore him, (as the *Perſians* did their

off his noſe and ears, and faſtened him to a croſs, the barbarians might kill him with their darts and arrows.

(6) Here

their kings) by accuſtoming them by little and little to bear with the alteration of his diſcipline and courſe of life in other things. However he did not altogether follow the *Median* faſhion, which was barbarous and uncouth; for he wore neither their breeches, nor their long veſt, nor their tiara for the head; but taking a middle way between the *Perſian* mode and the *Median*, he ſo contrived his habit that it was not ſo ſtately as the one, and yet more magnificent than the other. At firſt he wore this habit only when he had buſineſs to tranſact with the barbarians, or within doors among his intimate friends and companions; but afterwards he appeared in it abroad, and at publick audiences. This was a very unpleaſing ſight to the *Macedonians*; but they were ſo charmed with his other virtues and good qualities, that they could not but think it reaſonable in ſome things to gratify his humour and indulge his vanity. For beſide his other adventures, he had lately been wounded in the leg by an arrow, which had ſo ſhattered the bone, that ſplinters were taken out. And another time he received ſuch a violent blow with a ſtone upon the nape of the neck, as dimmed his ſight for a good while afterwards. But all this could not hinder him from expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers, without any regard to his perſon; ſo that he paſſed the river *Orexartes*, which he took to be the *Tanais*, and putting the *Scythians* to flight, purſued them an hundred furlongs, though at the ſame time he had a violent flux upon him. Here many affirm, that

(6) Here the text is faulty in two places; it is ſaid Χάρης ὁ εἰσαγγελεὺς, and Φίλιππος ὁ εἰσαγγελεύς. *Diodorus* tells us that εἰσαγγελεὺς was an officer in the *Perſian* court, whoſe buſineſs was to acquaint the Prince when any came to ſee or ſpeak to him, and to introduce them. But that cannot be what is meant here, for neither *Chares* nor *Philip* ever exerciſed that office. *Holſtenius* and *Reineſius* ſuppoſe that *Plutarch* wrote it Χάρης ὁ Θεαγγελεὺς, and Φίλιππος ὁ Θεαγγελεύς, that is, Chares *of* Theangela, *and* Philip *of* Theangela, which *Theangela* was a city in *Caria*. This correction ſeems the more juſtifiable, becauſe thoſe *Plutarch* names here, and among whom he has placed *Chares*

that the *Amazonian* Queen came to viſit him: ſo *Clitarchus*, *Polycritus*, *Oneſicritus*, *Antigenes* and *Iſter* report. But *Ariſtobulus*, (6) *Chares* of *Theangela*, *Ptolemy*, *Anticlides*, *Philo* the *Theban*, *Philip* of *Theangela*, *Hecatæus* the *Eretrian*, *Philip* the *Chalcidian*, and *Duris* the *Samian* ſay, (7) it is wholly a fiction. And indeed *Alexander* himſelf ſeems to confirm their opinion; for in a letter in which he gives *Antipater* an exact account of every event, he tells him, that the King of *Scythia* offered him his daughter in marriage, but makes no mention at all of the *Amazon*. And many years after, when *Oneſicritus* read this ſtory in his fourth book to *Lyſimachus*, who was then King, he with a ſmile aſked, *Where was I at that time?* But as for this particular, they who believe it will not have a greater veneration for *Alexander*, and they who reject it will not eſteem him the leſs.

Apprehending that the *Macedonians*, grown weary of the war, would not have the courage or patience to accompany him any further in his expedition, he left the groſs of his army behind him in their quarters, and taking with him the choiceſt of his forces, to the number of twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, he marched with them into *Hyrcania*, where he told them, *That hitherto the barbarians had ſeen them only as in a dream; and if they ſhould think of returning when they had only alarmed* Aſia, *and not conquered it, thoſe barbarians would fall upon them, and deſtroy them like ſo many women: that however he gave to*

Chares and *Philip*, are diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral countries, as Philo *the* Theban, Hecatæus *of* Eretria, *and* Duris *of* Samos; and it is not very likely that he would deſcribe the other two by their employments. But that which puts it out of all doubt is, that *Athenæus*, lib. 6. p. 271. quotes this very *Philip* as belonging to that place. Φίλιππος ὁ Θειαγγελεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ Χαρῶν καὶ Λελέγων Συγγράμματι. Philip *of* Theangela *in his treatiſe of the* Carians, &c.

(7) It is certain that this hiſtory of the *Amazons* is entirely fabulous, of which *Strabo* was very ſenſible. The reader may ſee the remarks upon the life of *Theſeus*, Vol. I. p. 34, 36.

(8) *Dio-*

to ſuch as deſired it liberty to return; but withal proteſted againſt every one who ſhould deſert him and his friends and thoſe who were willing to fight under him ſtill, while he was bringing the whole world into ſubjection to the Macedonians. This is almoſt word for word the ſame with what he wrote in a letter to *Antipater*, where he adds, *That when he had thus ſpoken to them, they all cried out, they would go along with him, wherever it was his pleaſure to lead them.* When he had in this manner gained them, it was no hard matter for him to bring over the reſt of the army which readily followed their example. From this time he more and more endeavoured to accommodate himſelf in his way of living to the cuſtoms of the barbarians, which he likewiſe endeavoured to blend with the cuſtoms of the *Macedonians*, in hopes that this mixture and communication would produce a mutual friendſhip, by which his authority would be better maintained during his abſence, than it would be by mere force. In order to this he choſe out thirty thouſand boys, to whom he allowed maſters to teach them the *Greek* tongue, and to train them up to arms according to the *Macedonian* diſcipline. As for his marriage with *Roxana*, that was purely the effect of love. For having accidentally ſeen her at a feaſt, he was charmed with her beauty. Nor was his love in the leaſt prejudicial to his intereſt, conſidering the ſituation of his affairs at that time. For this alliance with the barbarians made them confide in him, and love him more than ever, when they ſaw how continent he was, and that he abſtained from the only woman he ever was in love with, till he could enjoy her in a lawful and honourable way.

When he perceived that of his two chief friends and favourites, *Hephæſtion* approved of the cuſtoms he had newly taken up, and imitated him in his habit, while *Craterus* continued ſtrict in the obſervation of the cuſtoms and faſhions of his own country, he employed the firſt in all tranſactions with the barbarians,

rians, and the latter when he had to do with the *Greeks* or *Macedonians*. And the truth is, he had a greater love for the one, and a higher eſteem for the other, being perſuaded, as he always ſaid, that *Hephæſtion* loved *Alexander*, and *Craterus* the King. This occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between them, ſo that they often quarrelled; and once in *India* they drew their ſwords, and were going to fight, with their friends on each ſide to ſecond them, till *Alexander* came up to them, and publickly reproached *Hephæſtion*, telling him he was a fool and madman, not to be ſenſible that without his favour he was nothing. He chid *Craterus* alſo in private very ſeverely, and then cauſing them both to come into his preſence, he reconciled them, at the ſame time ſwearing by *Jupiter Ammon*, and the reſt of the Gods, that he loved them above all other men; but that if ever he perceived them fall out again, he would put both of them to death, or at leaſt the aggreſſor. After which, they neither ever did, or ſaid any thing, ſo much as in jeſt, to offend one another.

None had more authority among the *Macedonians* than *Philotas*, the ſon of *Parmenio:* for beſides that he was valiant, and indefatigable in war, he was alſo, next to *Alexander* himſelf, the moſt munificent, and moſt kind to his friends; one of whom aſking him for ſome money, he commanded his ſteward to give it him; and when he told him, he had none, *Have you no plate then*, ſaid he, *or cloaths of mine?* But he was extremely proud and inſolent by reaſon of his wealth, and more delicate and expenſive about his perſon and diet than became a private man; and that air of dignity and grandeur which he aſſumed, far from being graceful and engaging, appeared awkward and extravagant, and expoſed him to general ſuſpicion and ill-will; ſo that *Parmenio* would ſometimes ſay to him, *My ſon, be leſs.* He had for a conſiderable time before been complained of to *Alexander*; for when *Darius* was defeated in *Cilicia*, and an immenſe

menſe booty was taken at *Damaſcus*, among the reſt of the priſoners who were brought into the camp there was one *Antigone* of *Pydna*, a very handſome woman, who fell to *Philotas*'s ſhare. The young man one day in his cups, like an arrogant bragging ſoldier, told his miſtreſs, *That all the great actions were performed by him and his father, and that the ſtripling* Alexander *enjoyed the title of King by their means.* She diſcovered what ſhe had heard to one of her acquaintance, and he, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, to another, till at laſt it came to *Craterus*, who introduced her privately to the King. When *Alexander* had heard what ſhe had to ſay, he commanded her to continue her intrigue with *Philotas*, and to give him an account from time to time of what he ſaid. *Philotas* being thus inadvertently taken in the ſnare, ſometimes from reſentment, and ſometimes from vanity, uttered many indiſcreet expreſſions againſt the King in *Antigone*'s hearing; of which though *Alexander* was informed, and convinced by ſtrong evidence, yet he took no notice of it at firſt; whether he confided in *Parmenio*'s affection and loyalty, or whether he feared their authority and intereſt in the army. About this time one *Limnus* (8), a *Macedonian*, a native of *Chalæſtra*, conſpired againſt *Alexander*'s life, and communicated his deſign to a youth whom he loved, named *Nicomachus*, inviting him to be of the confederacy. But he rejected the propoſal and revealed it to his brother *Cebalinus*, who immediately went to *Philotas*, requiring him (9) to introduce them both to *Alexander*, to whom they had ſomething of great moment to impart, and which very nearly concerned him. *Philotas*, for what reaſon is uncertain, refuſed to introduce them as they had deſired, pretending the King was taken up with affairs of more importance. And

(8) *Diodorus* and *Quintus Curtius* call him *Dymnus*.

(9) *Quintus Curtius* ſays that *Cebalinus*, went by himſelf to *Philotas*, leſt if his brother *Nicomachus*, who had often received that honour, ſhould be introduced to the King, the conſpirators

And when they had urged him a ſecond time, and were ſtill ſlighted by him, they applied to *Metro*; by whoſe means being admitted into *Alexander*'s preſence, they firſt laid open *Limnus*'s conſpiracy, and then as by the by repreſented *Philotas*'s negligence, who had taken ſo little notice of their repeated ſollicitations. *Alexander* was extremely exaſperated at this neglect in *Philotas*; but when he came to underſtand, that the perſon who had been ſent to apprehend *Limnus* (1) had killed him, becauſe he had put himſelf upon his defence, and choſe rather to be ſlain than taken, he was ſtill more concerned, for he conceived the death of that traitor had deprived him of the means of making a full diſcovery of the plot. As ſoon as his diſpleaſure againſt *Philotas* began to appear, preſently all his old enemies ſhowed themſelves, and ſaid openly, *The King was too eaſily impoſed on, to imagine, that one ſo inconſiderable as* Limnus *the* Chalæſtrian, *ſhould of himſelf undertake ſuch an enterprize; that he was but ſubſervient to the deſign, an inſtrument that was moved by ſome greater power; that thoſe ought to be more ſtrictly examined about the conſpiracy, whoſe intereſt it ſo much was to conceal it.* When the King began to liſten to theſe diſcourſes and ſuſpicions, they loaded *Philotas* daily with innumerable accuſations, ſo that at laſt he was ſeized, and put to the torture in the preſence of the principal officers, *Alexander* himſelf being placed behind the tapeſtry, to hear what paſſed. When he heard in what a miſerable tone, and with what abject ſubmiſſions *Philotas* applied himſelf to *Hephæſtion*, he cried out, *Couldſt thou*, Philotas, *effeminate and mean-ſpirited as thou art, couldſt thou engage in ſo bold and hazardous an enterprize?* After his death, he preſently ſent orders into *Media*, to put *Parmenio* to death, a man who had a great

rators might have taken umbrage at it.

(1) Other authors ſay he killed himſelf. The guards carried him to *Alexander*'s tent; but by that time he was ſpeechleſs, and expired in a moment.

great ſhare in the exploits of *Philip*, and who was the only one, or at leaſt the chief, among his old friends and counſellors, who had encouraged *Alexander* to invade *Aſia*. Of three ſons whom he had in the army, he had already loſt two, and now was himſelf put to death with the third. Theſe actions rendered *Alexander* formidable to many of his friends, and chiefly to *Antipater*, who thereupon to ſtrengthen himſelf, ſent ambaſſadors privately to the *Ætolians*, to conclude an alliance with them; for they ſtood in fear of *Alexander*, becauſe they had deſtroyed the city of the *Oeniades*, of which when he was informed, he ſaid, *The children of the* Oeniades *need not revenge their father's quarrel, for he would himſelf take care to puniſh the* Ætolians.

Not long after this happened the death of *Clitus*, which to thoſe who barely hear the fact, may ſeem a proof of greater inhumanity than that of *Philotas*. But if we reflect on the time, cauſes, and circumſtances of the action, we ſhall think that it was rather an unfortunate accident than a deliberate crime, and that the rage and drunkenneſs of *Alexander* only furniſhed an occaſion to the evil genius of *Clitus* to accompliſh his deſtruction. It happened in the following manner. The King had a preſent of *Grecian* fruit brought him from the ſea-coaſt, which was ſo very freſh and beautiful, that he was ſurprized at it, and ſent for *Clitus* to ſhow it him, and to give him a ſhare of it. *Clitus* was then ſacrificing, but he immediately left off and went to wait on the King, followed by three of the ſheep, on whom the drink-offering had been already poured, in order for the ſacrifice. *Alexander* being informed of this accident, conſulted his two diviners, *Ariſtander* and *Cleomantis* the *Spartan*. They aſſuring him that it was an ill omen, he commanded them in all haſte to offer ſacrifices for *Clitus*'s ſafety, he himſelf having ſeen three days before a ſtrange viſion in his ſleep, of *Clitus* all in mourning, ſitting by *Parmenio*'s ſons who were all dead. *Clitus* however

however ſtaid not to finiſh his ſacrifice, but came immediately to ſup with the King, who the ſame day had ſacrificed to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. When they had drank pretty hard, one of the company began to ſing ſome verſes of one *Pranichus*, or as others ſay, of *Pierion*, which were made upon thoſe captains who had been lately worſted by the barbarians, on purpoſe to diſgrace and turn them to ridicule. This ſo offended the grave old men, that they condemned both the author and the ſinger of the verſes, though *Alexander* and his gay companions were mightily pleaſed to hear them, and encouraged the ſinger to proceed. At laſt *Clitus*, who had drank too much, and who was beſides of a froward obſtinate temper, was ſo provoked that he cried out, *It was not well done thus to expoſe the* Macedonians *before barbarians and enemies, ſince though it was their unhappineſs to be overcome, yet they were much better men than thoſe who laughed at them.* To this *Alexander* replied, *That ſure* Clitus *ſpoke ſo tenderly of cowardice and called it misfortune only to excuſe himſelf:* at which *Clitus* ſtarting up, *This cowardice, as you are pleaſed to term it,* ſaid he to him, *ſaved your life, though you pretend to be ſprung from the Gods, when you were running away from* Spithridates's *ſword; and it is by the expence of* Macedonian *blood, and by theſe wounds, that you are now raiſed to ſuch an height, as to deſpiſe and diſown your father* Philip, *and adopt yourſelf the ſon of* Jupiter Ammon. *Thou villain,* ſaid *Alexander*, who was now thoroughly exaſperated, *doſt thou think to utter theſe things every where of me, and ſtir up the* Macedonians *to ſedition, and not be puniſhed for it? We are ſufficiently puniſhed already,* anſwered *Clitus, if this be the recompence of our toils, and eſteem thoſe happieſt, who have not lived to ſee their countrymen ignominiouſly ſcourged with* Median *rods, and forced to ſue to the* Perſians *to have acceſs to their King.* While *Clitus* talked thus raſhly, and the King in the bittereſt manner retorted upon him, the old men that were in the company endeavoured all they could

to allay the flame. *Alexander* then turning to *Xenodochus* the *Cardian*, and *Artemius* the *Colophonian*, aſked them, *If they were not of opinion, that the reſt of the* Grecians *behaved among the* Macedonians, *like ſo many Demi-Gods among ſavages?* All this would not ſilence *Clitus*, who calling aloud to *Alexander* bid him *if he had any thing to ſay to ſpeak out; elſe why did he invite men who were free-born, and uſed to ſpeak their minds openly without reſtraint, to ſup with him, and not rather live and converſe with barbarians, and conquered ſlaves, who would not ſcruple to adore his* Perſian *girdle, and white tunick.* *Alexander* not being able to ſuppreſs his anger any longer, took one of the apples that lay upon the table and flung it at him, and then looked about for his ſword. But *Ariſtophanes* (2), one of his lifeguard, had hid that out of the way, and others came about him, and beſought him to reſtrain his fury, but in vain; for breaking from them, he called out aloud to his guards in the *Macedonian* language, (which was a ſignal of ſome great tumult) and commanded the trumpeter to ſound, giving him a blow with his fiſt for delaying, or rather refuſing to obey him; though afterwards the ſame man was commended for diſobeying an order, which would have put the whole army into confuſion. *Clitus* continued ſtill in the ſame quarrelſome humour, till his friends with much ado forced him out of the room; but he came in again immediately at another door, and inſolently ſung this paſſage out of *Euripides*'s *Andromache*.

Gods! what ill cuſtoms are receiv'd in Greece! (3)

Then

(2) *Quintus Curtius* and *Arrian* call him *Ariſtonus*.

(3) This is a ſpeech of *Peleus* to *Menelaus*, ver. 639, &c. *Plutarch* mentions only the firſt line, becauſe in thoſe days *Euripides*'s works were ſo generally known and remembered, and if one verſe only in a ſpeech was repeated, every one knew what followed. The whole paſſage is a complaint againſt the injuſtice of aſcribing all the glory of a victory to the General, and defrauding the ſoldiers who aſſiſted him in obtaining it of that ſhare of

Then *Alexander* ſnatching a ſpear from one of the ſoldiers, met *Clitus* as he was putting by the curtain that hung before the door, and ran him through the body. He fell immediately, and after a few loud groans expired. In that very inſtant the King's indignation cooled, and he came perfectly to himſelf; but when he ſaw his friends about him all in a profound ſilence, as ſeized with horror at the fact, he pulled the ſpear out of the dead body, and would have turned it againſt himſelf, if the guards had not held his hands, and by force carried him away into his chamber.

He ſpent all that night and the day following in the bittereſt grief, till being quite waſted with weeping and lamenting, he threw himſelf on the floor, where he lay ſpeechleſs; only now and then a deep ſigh broke from him. His friends apprehending ſome dangerous conſequence of this ſilence, forcibly entered the room; but he took no notice of what any of them ſaid to him to comfort him, till *Ariſtander* put him in mind of the viſion he had ſeen concerning *Clitus*, and the prodigy that followed, which ſhowed that the event was predetermined by fate. At this he ſeemed to moderate his grief. Then they brought to him *Calliſthenes* the philoſopher, who was nearly related to *Ariſtotle*, and *Anaxarchus* of *Abdera*. (4) *Calliſthenes* gently ſoothed him, and combated his ſorrow with tenderneſs and caution, endeavouring to cure the diſtemper without putting the patient to pain. But *Anaxarchus*, (5) who was always ſingular in his method of philoſophy, and was thought to ſlight all his companions, as ſoon as he came in cried out aloud,

of the honour which is their due.

(4) He was of the city of *Olynthus*, and had been recommended by *Ariſtotle* to *Alexander*. He was not only very learned, but a perſon of unſhaken probity, and a zealous lover of liberty, which made him of a humour not very complaiſant, or proper for a court.

(5) It appears by his diſcourſe to *Alexander* that he neither followed *Pythagoras*, *Socrates* nor *Ariſtotle*. It is ſaid that he was ſcholar to one *Diomenes* of *Smyrna*,

aloud, *Is this* Alexander *whom the world looks upon with ſuch admiration? Behold him extended on the ground, and weeping like an abject ſlave for fear of the laws and cenſures of men, to whom he himſelf ought to be a law, and the meaſure of equity; ſince he conquered for no other end but to make himſelf Lord of all, and not to be a ſlave to a vain idle opinion. Do not you know,* continued he, addreſſing himſelf to *Alexander, that* Jupiter *is repreſented ſitting on his throne with* Themis *on one ſide, and* Juſtice *on the other, intimating thereby that let a ſovereign Prince do what he will all his actions are juſt and lawful?* With theſe and the like arguments *Anaxarchus* indeed allayed the King's grief, but withal corrupted his manners, rendering him more diſſolute and violent than he was before. Nor did he fail by theſe means to inſinuate himſelf into his favour, and to make *Calliſthenes*'s converſation, which otherwiſe, becauſe of his auſterity, was not very pleaſing, extremely uneaſy and diſagreeable to him.

It is ſaid that theſe two philoſophers being at an entertainment, where the company diſcourſed of the ſeaſons of the year, and the temperature of the air, *Calliſthenes* joined with their opinion, who held that the cold was more ſevere in thoſe countries than in *Greece*; this *Anaxarchus* would by no means allow, but maintained the contrary with great obſtinacy. *Sure,* ſaid *Calliſthenes* to him, *you muſt confeſs this country to be colder than* Greece, *for there you had but one threadbare cloak to keep out the coldeſt winter, and here you cannot ſo much as ſit at table without three good warm mantles one over another.* This piece of raillery exceedingly

or *Metrodorus*, philoſophers little known. Others ſay he ſtudied under *Democritus*; and indeed it is plain his ſentiments were much the ſame with thoſe of that philoſopher, who held that laws were only human inventions.

(6) He was of *Olynthus*, which city had been deſtroyed by *Philip*. Whether *Calliſthenes* obtained his requeſt of *Alexander*, is uncertain; but the city was rebuilt, and in *Cicero*'s time was very flouriſhing, as appears by his third oration againſt *Verres*.

(7) This is a verſe in *Euripides*,

ingly exaſperated *Anaxarchus*. But *Calliſthenes* was likewiſe hated by the other ſophiſts and flatterers, who could not endure to ſee him ſo beloved and followed by the youth for the ſake of his eloquence, and no leſs eſteemed by the old men for his virtuous life, his modeſty, gravity, and contented diſpoſition; all which confirmed the account he gave of his deſign in following *Alexander*, that it was only to get his countrymen recalled from baniſhment, and to rebuild and repeople his native city (6). Beſide the envy which his great reputation raiſed, he alſo by his own deportment expoſed himſelf to the cenſures of his enemies. For when he was invited to entertainments he would refuſe to come, or if he came, by his moroſeneſs and ſilence he ſeemed to ſhow a diſapprobation of every thing that was ſaid or done; which made *Alexander* ſay of him (7),

The ſophiſt's wiſdom I deſpiſe
Who for himſelf is never wiſe.

Being with many more invited to ſup with the King, he was commanded to make an oration, while they were drinking, in praiſe of the *Macedonians*; and he did it with ſuch eloquence, that all who heard it exceedingly applauded him, and threw their garlands upon him; only *Alexander* told him in the words of *Euripides*,

On noble themes 'tis eaſy to excel.

Therepides, by repeating of which *Alexander* gave him to underſtand that his ill humour would one day be fatal to him; and it is no more than *Ariſtotle* himſelf had foretold him; for obſerving once with what freedom, or rather inſolence, he treated the King, he applied to him the following verſe out of *Homer*, ſpoken by *Thetis* to *Achilles*:

Ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι οἷ ἀγορεύεις. Il. xviii. 95.

Short date of life, my ſon, ſuch words forebode.

Therefore, ſaid he, *if you will ſhow the force of your eloquence, tell my* Macedonians *their faults, that by hearing them they may learn to be better for the future. Calliſthenes* preſently obeyed him, and retracting all he had ſaid before, inveighed againſt the *Macedonians* with great freedom, adding, *That* Philip *thrived, and grew powerful, chiefly by the diſcord of the* Grecians; applying theſe verſes to him,

Where-ever diſcord and ſedition reign,
The worſt of men the greateſt honour gain.

Which ſo diſobliged the *Macedonians*, that he was odious to them ever after. And *Alexander* ſaid, *That* Calliſthenes *had not on that occaſion ſo much ſhown his eloquence, as his malignity and ill-will to the* Macedonians. *Hermippus* aſſures us, that one *Stroïbus*, a ſervant whom *Calliſthenes* kept to read to him, told theſe things afterwards to *Ariſtotle*. He adds, that when *Calliſthenes* perceived the King grow more and more averſe to him, he repeated this verſe of *Homer* two or three times to him, as he was going away:

Patroclus, *far thy better, is no more.* (8)

Not without reaſon therefore did *Ariſtotle* give this character of *Calliſthenes*, *That he was indeed an excellent orator, but had no judgment.* For though he acted bravely and becoming a philoſopher in refuſing to worſhip the King, and in declaring publickly againſt that which the beſt and graveſt of the *Macedonians* only repined at in ſecret, by which he put a ſtop to their baſe adoration, and delivered the *Grecians* from great infamy, and *Alexander* himſelf from ſtill greater; yet he ruined himſelf by it, becauſe he proceeded with too much roughneſs, as if he would have forced the

(8) This is ſpoken by *Achilles* to *Lycaon* in the twenty-firſt book of the *Iliad*.

(9) He turned that way be-

cauſe

the King to that which he ſhould have effected by reaſon and perſuaſion. *Chares* of *Mitylene* writes, that at a banquet, *Alexander* after he had drank reached the cup to one of his friends, who receiving it, roſe up, and turning towards (9) the hearth, where ſtood the altar ſacred to the domeſtick Deities, he drank, proſtrated himſelf before *Alexander*, then kiſſed him, and afterwards ſat down at the table with the reſt. This they all did one after another, till it came to *Calliſthenes*'s turn, who taking the cup, drank it off, (the King, who was engaged in diſcourſe with *Hephæſtion*, not minding him) and then offered to kiſs him. But *Demetrius*, ſirnamed *Pheido*, interpoſed, ſaying, *Sir, by no means let him kiſs you, for he only of us all has refuſed to adore you*; upon which the King declined it; and all that *Calliſthenes* ſaid, was, *Then I go away with a kiſs leſs than the reſt.* This began to give the King an averſion to him, which was improved by many concurring circumſtances. In the firſt place *Hephæſtion* was eaſily believed when he declared that he had broke his word with him, having given him his promiſe to pay the King the ſame adoration that others did. Beſide this, *Lyſimachus* and *Agnon* added, that this ſophiſt went about priding himſelf, as if he ſtood in the gap againſt arbitrary power, and that the young men all ran after him, and honoured him as the only man among ſo many thouſands, who had the courage to preſerve his liberty. Therefore when *Hermolaus*'s conſpiracy came to be diſcovered, the crimes which *Calliſthenes*'s enemies laid to his charge were the more eaſily believed; particularly that when the young man aſked him, *What he ſhould do to be the moſt illuſtrious perſon on earth*, he told him, *The readieſt way was to kill him who was ſo at preſent*; and that to incite him to commit the fact, he bid him *not be awed by the golden canopy, but to remember that* Alexander *was a man*

cauſe *Alexander* ſat on that ſide, and to ſhow that he already reckoned that Prince among the domeſtick tutelary Deities.

(1) *Athe-*

a man equally infirm and vulnerable with another. However none of *Hermolaus*'s accomplices, in the extremity of their torments, made any mention of *Calliſthenes*'s being engaged in the deſign. Nay *Alexander* himſelf, in the letters which he wrote ſoon after to *Craterus*, *Attalus*, and *Alcetas*, tells them, that thoſe who were put to the rack, confeſſed they had entered into the conſpiracy wholly of themſelves, and that no others were privy to it. But yet afterwards, in a letter to *Antipater*, he accuſes *Calliſthenes* of that crime. *The young men*, ſays he, *were ſtoned to death by the* Macedonians, *but for the ſophiſt, I will take care to puniſh him, and them too who ſent him to me, who harbour thoſe in their cities who conſpire againſt my life.* By which expreſſions it appears he had no very good opinion of *Ariſtotle*, by whom *Calliſthenes* was educated on account of his relation to him, being the ſon of his niece *Hero*. His death is variouſly related: ſome ſay he was hanged by *Alexander*'s command; others, that he died of ſickneſs in priſon; but *Chares* writes, that he was kept in chains ſeven months after he was apprehended, on purpoſe that he might be proceeded againſt in full council, when *Ariſtotle* ſhould be preſent; (1) and that he died of exceſſive fat and of the louſy diſeaſe, about the time that *Alexander* was wounded in the country of the *Malli Oxydracæ*. But this happened afterwards.

In the mean time *Demaratus* of *Corinth*, an old man, was very deſirous to travel into *Aſia* to viſit *Alexander*; and when he had ſeen him, he ſaid, *He pitied the misfortune of thoſe* Grecians *who died before they had beheld* Alexander *ſeated on the throne of* Darius. But he did not long enjoy the effects of the King's bounty; for ſoon after he fell ſick and died. He had a magnificent funeral, and the army raiſed him a monument of earth eighty cubits high, and of a vaſt circumference. His aſhes were conveyed in a very

(1) *Athenæus* ſays he was carried about in an iron cage, where he was

very rich chariot drawn by four horſes to the ſea-ſide.

Alexander being now intent upon his expedition into *India*, took notice, that his ſoldiers were ſo charged with booty, that it hindered their marching; to remedy which, at break of day, as ſoon as the baggage waggons were laden, he firſt ſet fire to his own and thoſe of his friends, and then commanded thoſe to be burnt which belonged to the reſt of the army. An action which in the deliberation ſeemed more dangerous and difficult than it proved in the execution; for few were diſſatisfied with it; on the contrary, moſt of them, as if inſpired with an enthuſiaſtick zeal, having furniſhed one another with what was abſolutely neceſſary, with loud ſhouts and out-cries burnt and deſtroyed all that was ſuperfluous; the ſight of which redoubled *Alexander*'s vigour and alacrity.

He was now grown very ſevere and inexorable in puniſhing thoſe who committed any fault; for he put *Menander* one of his friends to death, for deſerting a fortreſs, where he had placed him in garriſon; and ſhot *Orſodates*, one of the barbarians who had revolted from him, with his own hand. At this time a ſheep happened to yean a lamb, with the perfect ſhape and colour of a *Tiara* upon the head, and teſticles on each ſide; which prodigy ſo ſhocked *Alexander*, that he immediately cauſed his *Babylonian* prieſts, whom he uſually carried about with him for ſuch purpoſes, to purify him, and told his friends, that he was not ſo much concerned for his own ſake, as for theirs, out of an apprehenſion that the Gods after his death might ſuffer his empire to fall into the hands of ſome degenerate, unworthy perſon. But this fear was ſoon removed by another prodigy that happened not long after, and was thought to preſage better. For *Proxenus*, a *Macedonian*, chief of thoſe who

was almoſt devoured by vermin, and at laſt expoſed to a lion.

(z) *Strabo*

who had the care of the King's equipage, as he was digging near the river *Oxus*, to ſet up the royal pavilion, diſcovered a ſpring of groſs oily liquor; and after the top was drawn off, there iſſued out pure clear oil, not differing in taſte or ſmell from real oil, and having exactly the ſame ſmoothneſs and brightneſs, though no olive-trees grew in that country (2). The water indeed of the river *Oxus* is ſaid to be ſo fat, that it leaves a gloſs on their ſkins who bathe themſelves in it. Whatever might be the cauſe, it is certain that *Alexander* was wonderfully pleaſed with it, as appears by his letters to *Antipater*, where he tells him that he looked upon it as one of the moſt conſiderable preſages that the Gods had ever favoured him with. The diviners told him, it ſignified his expedition would be glorious in the event, but very painful, and attended with many difficulties; for oil, they ſaid, was beſtowed on mankind by God as a refreſhment after their labours. Nor did they judge amiſs; for he expoſed himſelf to many hazards in the battles which he fought, and received very deep and dangerous wounds; beſides, his army ſuffered extremely from the unwholeſomeneſs of the air, and the want of neceſſary proviſions. But he ſtill laboured to ſurmount fortune by his reſolution, and to ſupply by virtue what he wanted in ſtrength, being perſuaded that nothing was inſuperable to the brave, and nothing ſecure to the timorous. Therefore when he beſieged *Siſimethres* on an inacceſſible, impregnable rock (3), and his ſoldiers began to deſpair of taking it,

(2) *Strabo* ſays, *that they who dig up the earth near the river* Ochus *meet with ſprings of oil*, and adds, *that as the earth abounds with ſulphureous bituminous liquids, ſo doth it likewiſe with ſuch as are fat and unctuous. Lib.* 11. He ſays that of the river *Ochus*, which *Plutarch* aſcribes to the *Oxus*; but thoſe two rivers join, and flow together through a certain tract of land. *Quintus Curtius* gives another turn to this miracle.

(3) In *Bactriana*. *Strabo* ſays that it was fifteen furlongs high, and eighty in compaſs, and that the top was a fertile plain, capable of maintaining five hundred men.

it, he aſked *Oxyartes*, *Whether* Siſimethres *was a man of courage?* He aſſured him, *he was the greateſt coward in the world. Then you tell me*, ſaid he, *that the place is our own, if the commander of it be a coward.* And in a little time he ſo intimidated *Siſimethres*, that he took it without any difficulty. At an attack which he made upon ſuch another ſteep place with ſome of the youngeſt of his *Macedonian* ſoldiers, he called to one whoſe name was *Alexander*, and told him, *It would become him to behave gallantly for the ſake of his name.* The youth fought bravely, and was killed in the action, at which the King was ſenſibly afflicted. Another time, ſeeing his men march ſlowly and unwillingly to the ſiege of a place called *Nyſa* (4), becauſe of a deep river between them and the town, he advanced before them, and ſtanding upon the bank, *What a miſerable man*, ſaid he, *am I, that I have not learned to ſwim?* And then was hardly diſſuaded from endeavouring to paſs it with his ſhield in his hand. Once having ſounded a retreat when he was fighting before the walls of a town to which he had laid ſiege, the beſieged ſent their ambaſſadors, with offers to ſurrender the place. When they were introduced into his preſence, they were ſurprized to find him armed, and without any pomp or ceremony about him. Afterwards when his attendants brought him a cuſhion, he bid the eldeſt of them, named *Acuphis*, take it and ſit down upon it. The old man charmed with his humanity and courteſy, aſked him, *What his countrymen ſhould do to merit his friendſhip? I would have them*, ſaid

men. It was here *Alexander* eſpouſed *Roxana* the daughter of *Oxyartes*.

(4) *Arrian* calls it *Nyſſa*, and places it between the rivers *Cophene* and *Indus*, near mount *Meris*. He adds, that it was built by *Dionyſus* or *Bacchus*. This makes *Lubinus* think that it is the ſame with the *Dionyſiopolis* of *Ptolemy*, which he likewiſe calls *Nagara*. The river, which according to *Plutarch*, runs under the walls of *Nyſa*, muſt be the river *Coas* mentioned by *Ptolemy*. *Juſtin* calls *Dionyſiopolis Nyſſa*, and agrees with *Arrian* in his account of it. It is at preſent called *Nerg*.

(5) *Alex-*

ſaid *Alexander*, *chuſe thee to govern them, and ſend one hundred of the moſt conſiderable and moſt worthy men among them to remain with me as hoſtages. I ſhall govern them with more eaſe*, replied *Acuphis* ſmiling, *if I ſend you ſo many of the worſt, rather than the beſt of my ſubjects.*

(5) *Taxiles*'s dominions in *India* are ſaid to have been as large as *Egypt*, and to have abounded remarkably in good paſtures, and in excellent fruits. *Taxiles* himſelf was a wiſe man, and at his firſt interview with *Alexander*, ſpoke to him in theſe terms: *To what purpoſe*, ſaid he, *ſhould we make war upon one another, if thy deſign of coming into theſe parts be not to rob us of our water, or our neceſſary food, which are the only things that wiſe men are indiſpenſably obliged to fight for? As for other riches and poſſeſſions, if I am better provided of them than thou, I am ready to let thee ſhare with me; but if fortune has been more liberal to thee than me, I will not decline thy favours, but accept them with all the grateful acknowledgments that are due to a benefactor.* This diſcourſe pleaſed *Alexander* ſo much, that embracing him, he ſaid, *Do not think, that thy fair ſpeeches and kind behaviour ſhall bring thee off in this interview without fighting. No, thou ſhalt not eſcape ſo; for as to benefits, I will contend with thee ſo far, that how obliging ſoever thou art, thou ſhalt not have the better of me.* (6) Then receiving ſome preſents from him, he returned him others of greater value, and laſt of all preſented him with a thouſand talents. At this his friends were exceedingly diſpleaſed, but it gained him the hearts of many of the barbarians.

The valianteſt of the *Indians* now taking pay of ſeve-

(5) *Alexander* paſſed the *Indus*, over a bridge near the town of *Pencolaites*. Between the *Indus* and *Hydaſpes* ſtood *Taxiles*, a large well governed city. The country about it is both beautiful and fertile, and ſome authors ſay it is bigger than *Egypt*, *Strab. Lib.* 15. *Strabo* as well as *Plutarch* calls the King of the country *Taxiles*; but others ſay he was only the *Satrapa*, or lieutenant, that his true name was *Mophis*, or *Omphis*, and that *Alexander* made

ſeveral cities, undertook to defend them, and did it ſo bravely, that they put *Alexander* to a great deal of trouble and fatigue, till having made an agreement with him, upon the ſurrender of a place, he fell upon them as they were marching away, and put them all to the ſword. This one breach of his word was a perpetual blemiſh upon him, though on all other occaſions he had managed his wars with that juſtice and honour that became his dignity. Nor were the *Indian* philoſophers leſs hurtful to him by inveighing bitterly againſt thoſe princes who were of his party, and ſolliciting the free cities to oppoſe him; therefore he took ſeveral of them, and cauſed them to be hanged.

Alexander in his own letters has given us the following account of his war with *Porus*. The two armies were ſeparated by the river *Hydaſpes*, on whoſe oppoſite bank *Porus* continually kept his elephants in order of battle, with their heads towards their enemies, to guard the paſſage. He every day made great noiſes in his camp, that the barbarians being accuſtomed to it might become careleſs and ſecure. In a ſtormy dark night he paſſed over the river, conſiderably above the place where the enemy lay, into a little iſland, with part of his foot, and the beſt of his horſe. Here there fell a violent ſhower of rain, accompanied with lightning and whirlwinds, and ſome of his men were burnt and deſtroyed by the lightning; however he quitted the iſland and made over to the other ſide. The *Hydaſpes*, now after the ſtorm, was ſo ſwoln and grown ſo rapid, as to make a breach in the bank, at which part of the river ran out, ſo that when he came to

made him take the crown, and the name of *Taxiles*, which was the common name of the kings of that country.

(6) *Quintus Curtius* ſays that *Alexander* returned him all the preſents he had made him, and added a thouſand talents to them, together with a great deal of gold and ſilver plate, ſeveral *Perſian* robes, and thirty horſes with ſuch furniture to them as he uſed himſelf.

(7) *Plu-*

to land, he found the place extremely ſlippery and the ground broken and hollowed by the current. In this diſtreſs he was heard to ſay, O Athenians! *would you have believed that I ſhould expoſe myſelf to ſuch dangers, to merit your praiſes?* But as to this laſt particular it is only mentioned by *Oneſicritus* (7). *Alexander* himſelf goes on, and tells us that here they quitted the rafts they had made uſe of in their paſſage, and paſſed the breach in their armour up to the breaſt in water; and then he advanced with his horſe about twenty furlongs before his foot, concluding, that if the enemy charged him with their cavalry, he ſhould be too ſtrong for them; if with their foot, his own would come up time enough to his aſſiſtance. Nor did he judge amiſs; for being charged by a thouſand horſe, and ſixty armed chariots, which advanced before their main body, he took all the chariots, and killed four hundred horſe upon the place. *Porus* gueſſing by this that *Alexander* himſelf was come over, brought up his whole army, except a party which he left behind to prevent the reſt of the *Macedonians* from paſſing the river. But *Alexander*, fearing the multitude of the enemy, and the force of their elephants, would not join battle with them in front, but dividing his forces, attacked their left wing himſelf, and commanded *Cœnus* to fall upon the right. Both wings being broken retired to the elephants. Though the engagement began early in the morning, it was two hours after noon before the barbarians were entirely defeated. This deſcription of the battle the conqueror has left us in his own epiſtles.

Almoſt all writers agree that *Porus* was four cubits and a palm (8) in height, and that when he was upon his

(7) *Plutarch* deſtroys the credit of this particular by barely naming the author; for this *Oneſicritus*, as *Strabo* tells us, *Lib.* 15. was of all *Alexander*'s hiſtorians the moſt fabulous.

(8) *i. e* near ſeven feet.

(9) This extravagant number muſt be an error of the tranſcribers, who ſeem to have given us the number of inhabitants in one city for the number of cities.

his elephant, which was a very large one, his ſtature and bulk were ſuch, that he appeared to be but proportionably mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave many proofs of wonderful underſtanding and a particular care of the King, whom as long as he was able to fight, he defended with great courage, repelling thoſe who attacked him; and as ſoon as he perceived him ready to faint by reaſon of his many wounds and the multitude of darts with which he was pierced, to prevent his falling off, he ſoftly kneeled down, and then with his proboſcis gently drew every dart out of his body. When *Porus* was taken priſoner, and *Alexander* aſked him, *How he expected to be uſed?* He anſwered, *Like a King. And haſt thou nothing elſe to demand?* ſaid *Alexander*. *No*, replied *Porus*, *in the word King every thing is comprehended.* Accordingly *Alexander* dealt very generouſly with him; for he not only ſuffered him to govern his own kingdom as his lieutenant, but added to it a large province of ſome free people whom he had newly ſubdued, which conſiſted of fifteen ſeveral nations, and contained five thouſand conſiderable towns (9), beſide abundance of villages. Another government three times as large as this he beſtowed on *Philip*, one of his friends.

Some time after the battle with *Porus*, moſt authors agree, that *Bucephalus* died of his wounds, or as *Oneſicritus* ſays, of age and fatigue, being thirty years old. *Alexander* was no leſs concerned at his death, than if he had loſt an old companion, or an intimate friend, and built a city which he named *Bucephalia*, in memory of him, on the banks of the river *Hydaſpes*. We are told moreover, that having loſt a favourite

cities. *Arrian*'s account is this. *He took thirty-ſeven cities, the leaſt of which contained five thouſand inhabitants, and ſeveral of them above ten thouſand. He took beſides a great number of villages not leſs populous than the cities, and gave the government of this country to* Porus.

favourite dog named *Peritas*, he likewiſe built a city in memory of him, calling it after his name. (1) *Sotio* the hiſtorian tells us, that he had this particular from *Potamo* of *Leſbos*.

But this laſt combat with *Porus* abated the courage of the *Macedonians*, and hindered their further progreſs in *India*. For having with great difficulty defeated him, who brought but twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe into the field, they ſtrongly oppoſed *Alexander*'s deſign of obliging them to paſs (2) the *Ganges* too, being told that it was thirty-two furlongs in breadth, and an hundred fathom deep, and that the banks on the further ſide were covered with prodigious numbers of foot, horſe, and elephants. For they had intelligence that the kings of the (3) *Gandarites* and *Præſians* expected them there with eighty thouſand horſe, two hundred thouſand foot, eight thouſand armed chariots, and ſix thouſand elephants (4). Nor was this an improbable report; for *Androcottus*, who not long after reigned in thoſe parts, made a preſent of five hundred elephants at once to *Seleucus*, and with an army of ſix hundred thouſand men ſubdued all *India*. *Alexander* at firſt was ſo grieved and enraged at the reluctance he found in the army, that he ſhut himſelf up in his tent, declaring,

(1) This author lived in the reign of *Tiberius*, and was contemporary with *Potamo*, who wrote a hiſtory of *Alexander*'s exploits in *India*. We muſt not confound him with that *Sotio* who lived about the time of *Ptolemy Philometor*, and was the author of a treatiſe entitled *The ſucceſſion of the philoſophers*, of which *Heraclides Lembus*, the ſon of *Serapio*, made an abridgment.

(2) There was a letter extant, in *Strabo*'s time, written by *Craterus* to his mother *Ariſtopatra*, wherein he informed her that *Alexander* was arrived upon the banks of the *Ganges*, and that he himſelf had ſeen that river, of which he gave a wonderful account, eſpecially concerning the depth and breadth of it. It is well known that the *Ganges* is the largeſt of all the rivers in the three continents, that the *Indus* is the ſecond, the *Nile* the third, and the *Danube* the fourth.

(3) *Quintus Curtius* makes one man King of thoſe two nations. But it appears from *Strabo* that they were two diſtinct governments, as they are repreſented here by *Plutarch*. The *Gandarites*

claring, that if they would not paſs the *Ganges*, he owed them no thanks for any thing they had hitherto done, and that to retreat now was plainly to confeſs themſelves vanquiſhed. But at laſt, the prudent remonſtrances and perſuaſions of his friends, and the tears and lamentations of his ſoldiers, who in a ſuppliant manner crouded about the entrance of his tent, prevailed with him to think of returning. Yet before he decamped, he contrived ſome artifices to delude poſterity into a falſe opinion of his greatneſs, by ſcattering about in different places arms of an extraordinary bigneſs, and mangers and bits for horſes, above the uſual ſize. He erected altars alſo to the Gods, which the kings of the *Præſians* even in our time highly reverence, often paſſing the river to ſacrifice upon them after the *Grecian* manner. *Androcottus*, then a youth, ſaw *Alexander* there, and often ſaid afterwards, that he miſſed but little of making himſelf maſter of thoſe countries; becauſe their King, who then reigned, was hated and deſpiſed for the viciouſneſs of his life, and the meanneſs of his extraction (5).

Alexander decamping from hence, was deſirous to ſee the ocean; for which purpoſe he cauſed a great many boats and rafts to be built, in which he went at leiſure

nites were a people inhabiting near the heads of the *Ganges* and *Indus*, and the *Præſians* on the banks of the *Ganges* where that river falls into another called *Erannoboas*. The capital of theſe was called *Palibothra*; and the King, beſides his family name, was called after the name of his city *Palibrothras*, *Strab. Lib.* 15. *Lubinus* is of opinion that it is the ſame with that which is called at preſent *Holobaſs*, in the dominions of the great *Mogul*.

(4) *Diodorus* ſays, twenty thouſand horſe, two thouſand chariots, and four thouſand elephants.

(5) This King's name was *Agrammes*; he was the ſon of a barber, with whoſe perſon the Queen was ſo ſmitten that ſhe raiſed him to great dignity. This wretch having treacherouſly murdered the King, ſeized on the kingdom upon a pretence of being guardian to the royal infants, whom likewiſe he cauſed to be murdered. His ſon ſucceeded him, and was the perſon who was on the throne during this expedition of *Alexander*.

leiſure down the rivers. But his navigation was neither unprofitable nor inactive; for by making ſeveral deſcents, he took the fortified towns, and made himſelf maſter of the country on both ſides. But at the ſiege of a city of the *Mallians*, who are the moſt valiant people of *India*, he was in great danger of his life; for having beaten off the defendants with ſhowers of arrows, he was the firſt man who mounted the wall by a ſcaling ladder, which, as ſoon as he was up, broke, and left him alone expoſed to the darts which the barbarians threw at him in great numbers from below. In this diſtreſs, collecting all his force and poiſing his body, he leaped down into the midſt of his enemies, and had the good fortune to light upon his feet. The glittering of his armour from this ſudden and violent motion, ſeemed to the barbarians like lightning or ſome ſupernatural ſplendor flaſhing about his body. This frighted them ſo at firſt, that they ran away, and diſperſed themſelves; till ſeeing him ſeconded but by two of his guards, they fell upon him hand to hand, and though he defended himſelf very bravely, wounded him through his armour with their ſwords and ſpears. One who ſtood further off, drew a bow with ſuch ſtrength, that the arrow finding its way through his cuiraſs, ſtuck in his ribs under the breaſt. This ſtroke was ſo violent, that it made him give back, and ſet one knee to the ground, which as ſoon as he that ſhot him perceived, he came up to him with his drawn ſcimitar; but *Peuceſtas* and *Limnæus* (6) interpoſed, who were both wounded, *Limnæus* mortally, but *Peuceſtas* ſtood his ground, while *Alexander* killed the barbarian. But this did not free him from danger; for beſide many other wounds,

(6) *Quintus Curtius* calls him *Timæus*.

(7) *i. e.* A little more than two inches broad, and three inches long.

(8) They were not ſo called in the days of *Alexander*. *Strabo*, upon the credit of ſome who had followed that Prince in this expedition, ſays that there were two ſects of theſe philoſophers, and that one of them were called

wounds, he at laſt received ſo violent a ſtroke with a club upon his neck, that he was forced to lean his body againſt the wall, where he ſtood looking upon the enemy. When he was reduced to this extremity, the *Macedonians* breaking into his aſſiſtance, took him up quite inſenſible, and conveyed him to his tent; upon which it was preſently reported all over the camp that he was dead. But when they had with great difficulty and pains ſawed off the ſhaft of the arrow, which was of wood, and ſo with much ado got off his cuiraſs, they then proceeded to draw out the head, which they found was three fingers broad and four long (7), and that it ſtuck faſt in the bone. During the operation, he was taken with almoſt mortal ſwoonings; but when it was out, he came to himſelf again. But even after the danger was paſt, he continued very weak, and confined himſelf a great while to a regular diet, attending entirely to the cure of his wound; till one day hearing the *Macedonians* were ſo deſirous to ſee him, that they were ready to mutiny, he put on his robe, and when he had ſhowed himſelf to them, and ſacrificed to the Gods, without more delay he went on board again, and as he coaſted along, ſubdued a great deal of the country on both ſides, and took ſeveral conſiderable cities.

In this voyage he took ten of the *Indian* philoſophers priſoners, who had been moſt active in perſuading *Sabbas* to rebel, and beſide that, had done the *Macedonians* a great deal of miſchief. Theſe men, becauſe they go naked, (8) are called *Gymnoſophiſts*; and are reputed to be extremely acute and conciſe in their anſwers to whatſoever is propounded to them, which he made trial of, by putting difficult queſtions to

ed *Brachmani*, and the other *Germani*; that the *Brachmani* were moſt eſteemed, becauſe there was a conſiſtency in their principles; that ſome of theſe *Brachmani* were called *Gymneti*, the naked; others the *Mountaineers*; and a third part the *Polite*, becauſe they dwelt in the cities. The readers may ſee ſomething very curious upon this ſubject in *lib.* xv. of that author.

(9) *Strabo*

to them, telling them at the ſame time that he who anſwered worſt ſhould be put to death firſt, and the reſt afterwards in order; and he appointed the eldeſt of them judge. The firſt being aſked, *Which he thought moſt numerous, the dead or the living?* Anſwered, *The living, becauſe they who are dead are not at all.* Of the ſecond he deſired to know, *Whether the earth or the ſea produced the largeſt animals?* He told him, *The earth, for the ſea was but a part of it.* His queſtion to the third was, *Which was the craftieſt animal? That,* ſaid he, *with which mankind is not yet acquainted.* He bid the fourth tell him, *Why he perſuaded* Sabbas *to revolt? Becauſe,* ſaid he, *I wiſhed him to live honourably, or die miſerably.* Of the fifth he aſked, *Which was eldeſt, night or day?* The philoſopher replied, *Day was eldeſt by one day:* but perceiving that *Alexander* was ſurprized at the reply, he added, *That he ought not to wonder, if ſtrange queſtions had as odd anſwers made to them.* Then he went on, and enquired of the next, *What a man ſhould do to be exceedingly beloved? He muſt be very powerful,* ſaid he, *without making himſelf too much feared.* The anſwer of the ſeventh to his queſtion, *How a man might be a God?* was, *If he could do that which was impoſſible for men to perform.* The eighth being aſked, *Which was ſtrongeſt, life or death?* replied, *Life, becauſe it ſupported ſo many miſeries.* And the laſt being aſked, *How long he thought it became a man to live?* ſaid, *So long as he does not think death better than life.* Then *Alexander* turned to him whom he had made judge, and commanded him to give ſentence. *All that I can determine,* ſaid he, *is, that they have every one anſwered*

(9) *Strabo,* who gives us an account of this tranſaction, ſays that *Alexander* knowing thoſe philoſophers went to wait on no one, but inſiſted that whoever had a mind to ſee or hear them ſhould wait upon them, and thinking it beneath his dignity to go himſelf, and unjuſt to force them upon any thing contrary to their laws and inſtitutions, ſent *Oneſicritus* to them, who made his report that he found fifteen men not far from the city, who ſat naked from morning till evening in one continued poſture, and that

ſwered worſe than another. Then thou ſhalt die firſt, ſaid the King, *becauſe thou judgeſt ſo ill. Not if you keep your word*, replied the Gymnoſophiſt, *which was, that he ſhould die firſt who anſwered worſt.* In concluſion he gave them preſents, and diſmiſſed them. But to thoſe who were in greateſt reputation among them, and lived a private retired life, (9) he ſent *Oneſicritus*, a diſciple of *Diogenes* the *Cynick*, deſiring them to come to him. *Calanus* very arrogantly and rudely commanded him *to ſtrip himſelf, and hear what he ſaid, naked, otherwiſe he would not ſpeak a word to him, though he came from* Jupiter *himſelf.* But *Dandamis* received him with more civility, and hearing him diſcourſe of *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, and *Diogenes*, told him, *he thought that they were men of great parts, but that they paid too much reſpect to the laws* (1). Others ſay, he only aſked him the reaſon, *Why* Alexander *undertook ſo long a voyage to come into thoſe parts? Taxiles* perſuaded *Calanus* to viſit *Alexander*; his proper name was *Sphines*, but becauſe he uſed to ſay *Cale*, which in the *Indian* tongue is the common form of ſalutation, the *Grecians* called him *Calanus*. He is ſaid to have ſhown *Alexander* an inſtructive emblem of government, which was this: he threw a dry ſhrivelled hide upon the ground, and trod upon the edge of it; the ſkin when it was preſſed in one place, ſtill roſe up in another, whereſoever he trod round about it, till he ſet his foot in the middle, which made all the parts ly flat and even. The meaning of this was, that *Alexander* ought to reſide moſt in the middle of his empire, and not undertake ſuch remote voyages.

His voyage down the rivers took up ſeven months time;

that in the evening they returned into the city; that he had diſcourſed with one of them called *Calanus*, who had diſcloſed to him things of a wonderful nature, which are to be found in *Strabo*, lib. xv.

(1) Mr. *Dacier* ſuppoſes that *Dandamis* meant to blame thoſe philoſophers for not going naked as he did. But others think that he cenſured them for ſuppreſſing their ſentiments concerning religion through fear of the laws.

time; and when he came to the ſea, he ſailed to an iſland which he called (2) *Scilluſtis*, others *Pſilutcis*, where going aſhore, he ſacrificed, and made what obſervations he could on the nature of the ſea and the coaſt. Then having beſought the Gods, *that no other man might ever go beyond the bounds of this expedition*, he ordered his fleet, of which he made *Nearchus* Admiral, and *Oneſicritus* pilot, to ſail round about, leaving *India* on the right hand, and returned himſelf by land through the country of the *Orites*, where he was extremely diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and loſt a great number of men, ſo that of an army of a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe, he ſcarce brought back above a fourth part out of *India*, they were ſo diminiſhed by diſeaſes, ill diet, and the ſcorching heats, but moſtly by famine. For their march was through an uncultivated country, whoſe inhabitants fared hardly, and had nothing to ſubſiſt on but a few ſorry ſheep, whoſe fleſh was rank and unſavoury, by reaſon of their continual feeding upon ſea-fiſh (3).

After ſix days painful march he came into *Gedroſia*, where he found great plenty of all things, which the neighbouring kings and governors of provinces, hearing of his approach, had taken care to provide. From hence, when he had refreſhed his army, he continued his march through *Carmania*, feaſting all the way for ſeven days together. He with his moſt intimate friends banquetted and revelled night and day, upon a ſtage erected on a lofty, conſpicuous ſcaffold,

(2) *Arrian* calls it *Cilluta*. *Quintus Curtius* hints at it without naming it. Here they firſt obſerved the flux and reflux of the ſea, which at firſt greatly terrified and ſurprized them.

(3) *Strabo*, Lib. 15. ſpeaking of theſe *Ichthyophagi* ſays that both they and their cattle fed upon fiſh.

(4) This paſſage is ſo corrupted in the original that it is impoſſible to make any tolerable ſenſe of it; for what can be the meaning of ταῖς Φιάλαις in this place? *M. le Fevre* in his notes upon *Anacreon* has reſtored the reading with great judgment Τῷ δὲ ἀτάκτῳ καὶ πιπλαμμένῳ τῆς πορείας παρείπετο ὁ Φάλης καὶ παιδιὰ βακ-

ſcaffold, which with a ſlow majeſtick pace, was drawn by eight horſes. This machine was accompanied by a great many chariots, whereof ſome were covered with tapeſtry of purple and other colours, and ſome with green boughs, which had their place ſupplied with freſh ones whenever they withered. In theſe were carried the reſt of his friends and commanders, drinking and crowned with chaplets. In all this train there was no target, helmet, or ſpear to be ſeen; but the road was covered with ſoldiers, continually dipping their cups in large veſſels of wine, and drinking to one another, ſome as they marched along, and others ſeated at tables, which were placed for them at proper diſtances in their paſſage. The whole country reſounded with muſick and ſinging, and with the wild riotous frolicks of the women who followed the army. (4) This diſorderly and diſſolute march was cloſed by a very immodeſt figure born in pomp, and a moſt licentious repreſentation of all the obſcenity of the *Bacchanals*, as if *Bacchus* himſelf had been preſent to countenance and carry on the debauch. As ſoon as he came to the royal palace of (5) *Gedroſia*, he again refreſhed and feaſted his army; and it is ſaid that one day, after he had drank hard, he went out to ſee an entertainment of dancing, wherein his paramour *Bagoas* (who defrayed the expence of one of the choruſes) obtained the victory, at which he was ſo elated that he croſſed the ſtage in his feſtival habit, and ſat down cloſe by the King. This ſo pleaſed the *Macedonians*, that they with loud acclamations called upon

βακχικῆς ὕβρεως, which he has tranſlated *tam incompoſitum, & vagabundum agmen ſequebatur Phales, & Bacchicæ licentiæ Luſus*. This *Phales* was a very ſcandalous figure of the God of the gardens, the ſame which was carried in proceſſion in *Greece* in the feaſts of the *Bacchanals*, and was called *Phales* or *Phallus*. *Plutarch* makes uſe of the laſt of theſe words in the life of *Romulus*, Φαλλοὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇς ἑορτῇς ἀναστχεῖν.

(5) How could that be, ſince he had juſt quitted *Gedroſia*, and had continued his march for ſeven days together through *Carmania?* Perhaps we ſhould read *the royal palace of* Carmania.

(6) *No-*

upon him to kiſs *Bagoas*, and never left clapping their hands and ſhouting, till *Alexander* took him about the neck and kiſſed him.

Here his Admiral *Nearchus* came to him, and delighted him ſo much with the relation of his voyage, that he reſolved himſelf to ſail out of the mouth of *Euphrates* with a great fleet, with which he deſigned to go round by *Arabia* and *Libya*, and ſo by *Hercules's Pillars* into the *Mediterranean*; in order to which he directed all ſorts of veſſels to be built at *Thapſacus*, and collected ſeamen and pilots from all quarters. But it fell out unluckily for this enterprize, that the report of the difficulties he went through in his *Indian* expedition, the danger of his perſon among the *Mallians*, the loſs of a conſiderable part of his forces, and the general opinion that he would hardly return in ſafety, occaſioned the revolt of many conquered nations, and tempted the commanders and lieutenants in ſeveral provinces to oppreſs the people with extreme injuſtice, avarice, and inſolence. In a word, there ſeemed to be throughout his whole empire an univerſal fluctuation and diſpoſition to change; inſomuch that *Olympias* and *Cleopatra* had raiſed a faction againſt *Antipater*, and ſhared his government between them, *Olympias* ſeizing upon *Epirus*, and *Cleopatra* upon *Macedonia*. When *Alexander* was told of it, he ſaid, *His mother had made the beſt choice, for the* Macedonians *would never endure to be ruled by a woman.* Upon this he diſpatched *Nearchus* again to his fleet, intending to carry the war into all the maritime provinces. In the mean time, in his march through the inland countries, he puniſhed thoſe commanders who had not behaved well, particularly *Oxyartes*, one of *Abulites's* ſons, whom he killed with his own hand, thruſting him through the body with his ſpear. And when *Abulites*, inſtead of the neceſſary proviſions which he ought to have furniſhed, brought him three thouſand talents in money, he ordered it to be thrown to his horſes, who not meddling with it, he ſaid,

What

What good does this proviſion do me? and ſent him away to priſon.

Upon his return into *Perſia*, he diſtributed money among all the women of the country, according to a cuſtom which had been always obſerved by their kings, who were obliged upon their progreſs to give every woman a piece of gold; for which reaſon ſome of them came but ſeldom, and *Ochus* was ſo ſordidly covetous, that he never viſited *Perſia*, though it was his native country, but choſe rather to live a voluntary exile than bear the expence.

Finding *Cyrus*'s ſepulchre opened and rifled, he put *Polymachus* who was guilty of it to death, though he was a man of quality, and born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*: and after he had read the inſcription, he cauſed it to be cut again below the old one in *Greek* characters; the words were theſe: *O man, whoſoever thou art, and whenceſoever thou comeſt (for come I know thou wilt) I am* Cyrus, *the founder of the* Perſian *empire; do not envy me this little quantity of earth which covers my body.* The reading of this ſenſibly touched *Alexander*, cauſing him to reflect ſeriouſly upon the uncertainty and mutability of human affairs. At the ſame time *Calanus* having been a little while troubled with a looſeneſs, requeſted he might have a funeral pile erected, to which he came on horſeback, and after he had ſaid ſome prayers, and had poured a libation upon himſelf, and cut off ſome of his hair to throw into the fire, he aſcended it, embracing and taking leave of the *Macedonians* who ſtood by, and deſiring them to paſs that day in mirth and drinking with their King, whom in a little time, he ſaid, he ſhould ſee again at *Babylon*. Having ſaid this, he lay down, and covered himſelf up; he did not move when the fire came near him, but continued ſtill in the ſame poſture as at firſt; and thus he ſacrificed himſelf according to the ancient cuſtom of the philoſophers of his country. The ſame thing was done long after by another *Indian*, who came with *Cæſar* to *Athens*, where they

they ſtill ſhow the *Indian*'s monument. *Alexander* in his return from the funeral pile, invited a great many of his friends and principal officers to ſupper, and propoſed a drinking-match, in which the victor ſhould be crowned. *Promachus* drank fourteen quarts of wine, and won the prize, which was worth a talent; but he ſurvived his victory only three days, and was followed, as *Chares* ſays, by forty-one more, who died of the ſame debauch, by reaſon of the ſevere froſt which happened at that time.

At *Suſa* he married *Darius*'s daughter *Statira*, and celebrated the nuptials of his friends, beſtowing the nobleſt of the *Perſian* ladies upon the worthieſt of them. He alſo made a very ſplendid entertainment for all the *Macedonians* who were married before; at which it is reported, there were no leſs than nine thouſand gueſts, to each of whom he gave a golden cup for them to uſe in their libations. Not to mention other inſtances of his wonderful magnificence, he paid the debts of his whole army, which amounted to nine thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy talents. *Antigenes* (who was diſtinguiſhed by the name of *One-eyed*) though he owed nothing, got his name ſet down in the liſt of thoſe who were in debt, and bringing one who pretended to be his creditor, received the money. But when the cheat was found out, the King was ſo incenſed at it, that he baniſhed him from court, and took away his command, though he was an excellent ſoldier, and a man of great courage. For when he was but a youth, and ſerved under *Philip* at the ſiege of *Perinthus*, where he was wounded in the eye by an arrow ſhot out of an engine, he would neither let the arrow be taken out, nor be perſuaded to quit the field, till he had bravely repulſed the enemy, and forced them to retire into the town. A man of his ſpirit was not able to ſupport ſuch a diſgrace with any patience, and his grief and deſpair would certainly have killed him; but the King fear-

ing

ing the conſequence, not only pardoned him, but let him alſo enjoy the benefit of his deceit.

The thirty thouſand boys whom he left behind him to be inſtructed in military diſcipline, were now full-grown, and were ſo beautiful in their perſons, and performed their exerciſes with ſuch dexterity and agility, that he was extremely pleaſed; but the *Macedonians* were diſheartened, fearing the King would now have leſs eſteem for them. And when he was ſending home the infirm and maimed ſoldiers, they ſaid they were unjuſtly and diſhonourably dealt with, and complained that after he had worn them out in his ſervice, he was now turning them off with diſgrace, and ſending them back to their own country among their friends and relations, in a worſe condition than he found them in when he brought them from thence. Therefore they deſired him to diſcharge them all, and to account his *Macedonians* uſeleſs, now he was ſo well furniſhed with theſe dancing boys, with whom if he pleaſed he might go on, and conquer the whole world. Theſe ſpeeches ſo enraged *Alexander*, that after he had ſeverely reprimanded them, he removed them from his perſon, and choſe his lifeguard and the other inferior officers who attended him from among the *Perſians*. When the *Macedonians* ſaw him attended by theſe men, and themſelves excluded and diſgraced, they were exceedingly mortified; and upon diſcourſe with one another they found that jealouſy and rage had almoſt diſtracted them. But at laſt coming to themſelves again, they went unarmed, with nothing on them but their tunicks, and with tears and lamentations preſented themſelves at his tent, deſiring him to deal with them as their baſeneſs and ingratitude deſerved. However this would not prevail; for though his anger was already ſomething mollified, yet he would not admit them into his preſence, nor would they ſtir from thence, but continued two days and nights before his tent, bewailing their misfortune, and calling upon him as their Prince and Sove-

reign.

reign. The third day he came out to them, and ſeeing them very humble and penitent, he wept a great while, and after a gentle reproof ſpoke kindly to them, and diſmiſſed thoſe who were unſerviceable, with magnificent rewards, and this recommendation to *Antipater*; that when they came into *Greece*, at all publick ſhows, and in the theatres, they ſhould ſit in the moſt honourable ſeats, crowned with chaplets of flowers; and he ordered the children of thoſe who had loſt their lives in his ſervice, to have their fathers pay continued to them.

When he came to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, and had diſpatched his moſt urgent affairs, he diverted himſelf again with ſpectacles, and publick entertainments, to carry on which, he had a ſupply of three thouſand performers newly arrived out of *Greece*. But they were ſoon interrupted by *Hephæſtion*'s falling ſick of a fever, in which, being a young man, and a ſoldier too, he could not confine himſelf to ſo exact a diet as was neceſſary; for whilſt his phyſician *Glaucus* was gone to the theatre, he eat a boiled capon for dinner, and drank a large draught of wine cooled with ice, upon which he grew worſe, and died in a few days. At this misfortune *Alexander* was ſo extravagantly tranſported, that to expreſs his ſorrow he immediately ordered the manes and tails of all his horſes and mules to be cut, and threw down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. He crucified the poor phyſician, and forbad the uſe of the flute, or any other muſical inſtrument in the camp for a great while, till the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon* enjoined him to honour *Hephæſtion*, and ſacrifice to him as to a hero. Then ſeeking to alleviate his grief in war, he ſet out as if he were going to hunt men; for he fell upon the *Cuſſæans*, and put the whole nation to the ſword, not ſparing ſo much as the children. This was called *a ſacrifice to* Hephæſtion*'s ghoſt*. He intended to beſtow ten thouſand talents in celebrating his funeral and erecting a monument to him; and that the excel-

lence

ſence and beauty of the workmanſhip might ſurpaſs even the expence itſelf, he rather choſe to employ *Staſicrates* than any other artiſt, becauſe he always expreſſed ſomething very bold, lofty, and magnificent in his deſigns. This was the man, who in a former diſcourſe had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, that of *Athos* in *Thrace* was the moſt capable of being contrived to repreſent the ſhape and lineaments of a man; that if he pleaſed to command him, he would make it the nobleſt and moſt durable ſtatue in the world, and that in its left hand it ſhould hold a city of ten thouſand inhabitants, and out of its right ſhould pour a copious river into the ſea. Though *Alexander* declined this project, yet now he ſpent a great deal of time with workmen, to invent and contrive others far more abſurd and expenſive.

As he was upon his way to *Babylon*, *Nearchus*, who had ſailed back out of the ocean by the mouth of the river *Euphrates*, came to tell him, he had met with ſome *Chaldæan* diviners, who warned him not to go thither. But *Alexander* ſlighted this advice, and went on; and when he came near the walls of the city, he ſaw a great many crows fighting with one another, ſome of which fell down juſt by him. After this, being informed that *Apollodorus* the governor of *Babylon* had ſacrificed in order to know what would be his fate, he ſent for *Pythagoras* the ſoothſayer, who not denying the thing, he aſked him, in what condition he found the victim? And when he told him, the liver was defective in that lobe called the head, he ſaid, *A terrible preſage, indeed!* however he offered *Pythagoras* no injury; but he was much troubled that he had neglected *Nearchus*'s advice, and therefore remained in his camp a great while without the town, and diverted himſelf with ſailing up and down the *Euphrates*. For beſide this, he was terrified by many other prodigies. A tame aſs fell upon the largeſt and handſomeſt lion that was kept there, and kicked him to death. One day he undreſſed himſelf to be

anointed, and to play at tennis, and when he had done, and was putting his cloaths on again, the young men who had played with him, perceived a man clad in the King's robes, with a diadem upon his head, ſitting ſilently upon his throne. They aſked him, *Who he was?* To which he gave no anſwer a good while, till at laſt with much ado coming to himſelf, he told them, *His name was* Dionyſius; *that he was of* Meſſenia; *that for ſome crime of which he was accuſed, he had been forced to fly his country, and had made his eſcape by ſea, and got from thence to* Babylon, *where he had been kept in chains for a long time; that* Serapis *had juſt before appeared to him, had freed him from his chains, conducted him to that place, and commanded him to put on the King's robe and diadem, and to ſit where they found him, and to ſay nothing.* *Alexander* when he heard this, by the direction of his ſoothſayers, put the poor wretch to death; but from that time he began to deſpond, and grew diffident of the protection of the Gods, and very ſuſpicious of his friends. His greateſt apprehenſion was of *Antipater* and his ſons, one of whom, named *Jollas*, was his chief cup-bearer; the other, named *Caſſander*, was newly arrived out of *Greece*, and being bred up in the freedom of his country, the firſt time he ſaw the barbarians adore the King, he was ſurprized at the novelty of the thing, and could not forbear laughing aloud at it; which ſo incenſed *Alexander*, that he took him by the hair with both hands, and violently beat his head againſt the wall. Another time, *Caſſander* would have ſaid ſomething in defence of *Antipater*, to thoſe who accuſed him; but *Alexander* interrupting him, cried out, *What is it you ſay? Do you think people, if they have received no injury, would come ſuch a journey only to calumniate your father?* To which *Caſſander* replied, that *this very thing was a great evidence of their calumny, for the further they were come the further they were from thoſe proofs that could confute them.* *Alexander* ſmiled at this, and

ſaid,

ſaid, *Thoſe are ſome of* Ariſtotle's *ſophiſms, which will ſerve equally on both ſides; but*, added he, *both you and your father ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed if it appears that the complainants have received the leaſt injuſtice at your hands.* This menace made ſuch a deep impreſſion on *Caſſander*'s mind, that long after, when he was King of *Macedonia*, and maſter of all *Greece*, as he was walking one day at *Delphi*, and looking on the ſtatues, at the ſight of that of *Alexander* he was ſuddenly ſeized with ſuch a trembling and dizzineſs, that he with great difficulty recovered himſelf.

When once *Alexander* began to give way to ſuperſtition, his mind grew ſo reſtleſs and timorous, that he looked upon every event, however trifling, if in the leaſt unuſual or extraordinary, to be a prodigy and a preſage; and his court ſwarmed with diviners and prieſts, who were perpetually offering ſacrifices, making purifications, and uttering prophecies. So horrid a thing is incredulity, and contempt of the Gods on one hand; and no leſs horrid is ſuperſtition on the other, which, like water, whoſe property is always to flow downwards, affects only thoſe whoſe minds are ſunk and depreſſed, filling them with abſurd imaginations and extravagant terrors, as it did now *Alexander* himſelf. But upon ſome anſwers which were brought him from the Oracle concerning *Hephæſtion*, he laid aſide his ſorrow, and fell again to ſacrificing and drinking. Having given *Nearchus* a ſplendid entertainment, after he had bathed, as was his cuſtom, and was juſt going to bed, at *Medius*'s requeſt he went to ſupper with him. Here he drank all that night and the next day to ſuch exceſs, that it threw him into a fever, which ſeized him, not as ſome write, after he had drank off *Hercules*'s bowl; nor was he taken with a ſudden pain in his back, as if he had been ſtruck with a lance: for theſe are the inventions of ſome authors, who thought that ſo noble a drama ought to have a pathetic and tragi-

cal cataſtrophe. *Ariſtobulus* tells us, that in the rage of his fever, and the violence of his thirſt, he took a draught of wine, upon which he fell into a frenzy, and died the thirtieth of the month *Dæſius*, [*June*]. But in his own journals we have the following account of his ſickneſs: *The eighteenth of the month* Dæſius, *finding himſelf feveriſh, he lay in his bathing-room. On the morrow, when he had bathed, he returned into his chamber, and ſpent the day at dice with* Medius. *In the evening having bathed and ſacrificed, he ſupped, and had his fever that night. The twentieth, after the uſual ſacrifices and bathing, he kept his bed in the ſame room, and heard* Nearchus's *relation of his voyage, and the obſervations he had made concerning the ocean. The twenty-firſt he paſſed in the ſame manner, his fever ſtill increaſing, and he had a very bad night. The next day he had a ſevere fit, and cauſed himſelf to be removed, and his bed to be ſet by the great bath, where he diſcourſed with his principal officers about filling up the vacant charges in the army with men of tried valour and experience. The twenty-fourth, being much worſe, he was carried out to aſſiſt at the ſacrifices, and gave order that his chief commanders ſhould wait within the court, whilſt the other officers kept watch without doors. The twenty-fifth, he was removed to his palace on the other ſide the river, where he ſlept a little, but his fever did not abate, and when the commanders came into his chamber, he was ſpeechleſs, and continued ſo the following day. Then the* Macedonians *ſuppoſing he was dead, came with great clamour to the gates, and menaced his friends ſo, that they were forced to admit them, and let them all paſs unarmed by his bed-ſide. The twenty-ſeventh,* Pytho *and* Seleucus *being ſent to* Serapis's *temple, to enquire if they ſhould bring* Alexander *thither, were anſwered by the God, that they ſhould not remove him. The twenty-eighth in the evening he died.*

(7) *Nonacris* was a town in *Arcadia*, near which there was a rock, from whence flowed a water of ſo deadly and cold a nature,

died. This account is moſt of it word for word taken from his own diary.

At that time no body had any ſuſpicion of his being poiſoned; but upon a diſcovery made ſix years after, they ſay, *Olympias* put many to death, and threw abroad the aſhes of *Iollas*, who was then dead, as if he had given it him. But thoſe who affirm that *Ariſtotle* perſuaded *Antipater* to do it, and that it was wholly by his means that the poiſon was brought, produce one *Agnothemis* for their author, who pretends that he had heard King *Antigonus* ſpeak of it, and tells us that the poiſon was a water of a deadly quality cold as ice, diſtilling from a rock in the territory of *Nonacris* (7), which they gathered like a thin dew, and kept in an aſs's hoof; for it was ſo very cold and penetrating, that no other veſſel would hold it. However, moſt are of opinion that all this is falſe; a ſtrong evidence of which is, that during the diſſenſions among the commanders, which laſted a great many days after his death, the body continued clear and freſh, without any ſign of ſuch taint or corruption, though it lay neglected in a hot ſultry place.

Roxana, who was now with child, and upon that account much honoured by the *Macedonians*, being jealous of *Statira*, ſent for her by a counterfeit letter, as if *Alexander* had been ſtill alive; and when ſhe had her in her power, killed her and her ſiſter, and threw their bodies into a well, which they filled up with earth, not without the privity and aſſiſtance of *Perdiccas*, who at this time under the ſhelter of *Aridæus*, whom he carried about with him for his own ſecurity, bore the greateſt ſway of any. *Aridæus* himſelf, who was *Philip*'s ſon, by one *Philinna*, an obſcure common ſtrumpet, was a man of weak parts, by

nature, that they gave it the name of *the Stygian water*.

by reaſon of a bodily indiſpoſition which neither was born with him nor came of itſelf; for in his childhood he was lively and of a promiſing diſpoſition; but ſome potions that *Olympias* gave him, not only impaired his health, but weakened his underſtanding.

JULIUS



JULIUS CÆSAR.

AS (1) ſoon as *Sylla* had made himſelf maſter of *Rome*, he reſolved to force *Cornelia* (2), daughter to *Cinna* (who had obtained the ſupreme power in *Rome*) from *Cæſar* her huſband; but being unable to effect it either by hopes or fears, he confiſcated

(1) Some authors are of opinion that this life of *Cæſar* is imperfect, and that the beginning is wanting; but this conjecture is ill founded. *Plutarch* paſſes over the firſt years in *Cæſar*'s life, becauſe nothing illuſtrious occurred in them till in oppoſition to *Sylla* he refuſed to divorce *Cornelia*. He enters at once upon that part where he firſt begins to make a figure.

(2) *Cæſar* married her, notwithſtanding he had been contracted whilſt very young to *Coſſutia* a lady of a conſular family, and very wealthy. He would not follow the example

confiſcated her dowry. The ground of *Sylla*'s hatred to *Cæſar*, was the alliance between him and *Marius*; for *Marius* the elder married *Julia*, *Cæſar*'s aunt by the father's ſide, and had by her the younger *Marius*, who conſequently was *Cæſar*'s couſin-german. And though at firſt *Sylla* had overlooked *Cæſar* from the hurry of buſineſs and the vaſt number of his murders and proſcriptions; yet *Cæſar* was not ſatisfied with this, but preſented himſelf to the people as a candidate for the prieſthood (3), though he was yet extremely young; but being oppoſed by *Sylla* he was unſucceſsful in his application. When *Sylla* afterwards conſulted with his friends about putting him to death, ſome of them ſaid that it was not worth his while to contrive the death of a boy; but he anſwered, *That they knew little, who did not ſee many* Marius's *in that boy.* *Cæſar* having notice of this, lay concealed a long while among the *Sabines*, often changing his quarters; till one night, as he was removing his lodging, and was conveyed in a litter on account of his health, he fell into the hands of *Sylla*'s ſoldiers, who were ſearching thoſe parts in order to apprehend ſuch as had abſconded. *Cæſar*, by a bribe of two talents, prevailed with *Cornelius* their Captain to let him go, and was no ſooner diſmiſt, but he put to ſea, and ſailed to *Bithynia*. After a ſhort ſtay there with *Nicomedes* the King, in his paſſage back he was taken near the iſland *Pharmacuſa* by the pirates, who at that time with ſome great ſhips, and a vaſt number of ſmaller veſſels, inteſted thoſe ſeas. When at firſt they demanded of him twenty talents for his ranſom, he laughed at them, as not underſtanding the value of their priſoner, and voluntarily engaged

of *Piſo*, who to make his court to *Sylla* divorced *Annia*, *Cinna*'s wife, to whom he had been married.

(3) *Rualdus* has rightly obſerved that *Plutarch* is miſtaken in this particular; for it is not true that *Cæſar* did not ſtand for the prieſthood till *Sylla*'s government, and that when he did ſtand for it *Sylla* made intereſt againſt him. It is evident from hiſtory that *Cæſar* in the ſeventeenth year of his age breaking through

engaged to give them fifty. He preſently diſpatched thoſe about him to ſeveral places to raiſe the money, and in the mean time remained in the hands of thoſe bloody wretches, with only one friend, and two attendants: yet he held them in ſuch contempt, that when he had a mind to ſleep, he would ſend to them, and command ſilence.

For thirty-eight days, he with the greateſt freedom uſed to exerciſe and divert himſelf among them, as if they had not been his keepers, but his guards and attendants. He wrote verſes, and ſpeeches, and made them his auditors, and thoſe who did not admire them, he called to their faces illiterate and barbarous, and would often in raillery threaten to hang them. They were much pleaſed with this freedom, attributing it to ſimplicity and a chearful ſportive humour. As ſoon as his ranſom was come from *Miletus*, he paid it, and was diſcharged; but preſently after he manned ſome ſhips at the port of *Miletus*, and went in purſuit of the pirates, whom he ſurprized as they lay at anchor near the iſland, and took moſt of them. Their money he ſeized as plunder, and the men he ſecured in priſon at *Pergamus*. He then applied to *Junius*, who had the government of *Aſia*, to whoſe office it belonged as prætor, to determine their puniſhment. *Junius* having his eye upon the money, (for the ſum was conſiderable) ſaid, *He would think at his leiſure what to do with the priſoners*; upon which *Cæſar* took his leave of him, and went for *Pergamus*, where he ordered the pirates to be brought forth and crucified; which puniſhment he had often threatned them

through his obligations to *Coſſutia*, married *Cornelia* the daughter of *Cinna*, by whoſe intereſt, and that of *Marius*, he was declared *Flamen Dialis*, or prieſt of *Jupiter*. After this *Sylla*, who was now become abſolute, earneſtly preſſing him to divorce *Cornelia*, and *Cæſar* obſtinately refuſing, he deprived him of that office. In this manner we find it related by *Velleius* and *Suetonius*.

them with, whilſt he was in their hands, and they little thought he was in earneſt.

In the mean time *Sylla*'s power declined, and *Cæſar*'s friends adviſed him to return to *Rome*; but he went to *Rhodes*, and entered himſelf in the ſchool of (4) *Apollonius*, *Molo*'s ſon, a famous rhetorician, whom *Cæſar* had attended, and who was eſteemed a man of virtue and integrity. *Cæſar* was by nature excellently framed for a perfect ſtateſman and orator, and took ſuch pains to improve his genius this way, that without diſpute he might challenge the ſecond place amongſt men of that character. More he did not aim at, chuſing to be firſt rather amongſt men of arms and power; and therefore he never roſe to that pitch of eloquence to which nature would have carried him, being diverted by thoſe expeditions and deſigns, which at length gained him the empire. And he himſelf, in his anſwer to *Cicero*'s panegyrick on *Cato*, deſires his reader not to compare the plain diſcourſe of a ſoldier with that of an accompliſhed orator, who had employed ſo great a part of his life in the ſtudy of eloquence.

When he was returned to *Rome*, he accuſed *Dolabella* of maladminiſtration; and many cities of *Greece* came in to atteſt it. *Dolabella* was acquitted; and *Cæſar*, in return of the favours he had received from the *Grecians*, aſſiſted them in their proſecution of *Publius Antonius* for bribery before *Marcus Lucullus* prætor of *Macedonia*. In this cauſe he prevailed ſo far, that *Antonius* was forced to appeal to the tribunes at *Rome*, alledging, that in *Greece* he could not have juſtice againſt *Grecians*. By his pleadings at *Rome* he acquired great reputation, and gained much upon the affections

(4) According to *Suetonius*, *Cæſar* had before this adventure of the pirates ſtudied at *Rome* under *Apollonius*; but *Plutarch* very improperly makes two men of one in this place. *Molo* was not the name of *Apollonius*'s father but of *Apollonius* himſelf; and he is called *Apollonius Molo* by *Suetonius*, *Quintilian*, and *Cicero*. He was often called *Molo* ſimply, without the addition of the other name. *Plutarch* falls into the ſame miſtake in the life of

affections of the people by the eaſineſs of his addreſs and converſation, in which he was accompliſhed beyond what could be expected from his age. His intereſt grew ſtill inſenſibly greater by the entertainments he gave, and the magnificence of his whole manner of life. His enemies ſlighted the growth of it at firſt among the common people, in expectation it would ſoon fail, when his money was gone. But when his power at laſt was fixed, and not to be controuled, and now openly tended to the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, they were aware too late, that there is no beginning ſo mean, which continued application will not make conſiderable, and that ſmall dangers, by being deſpiſed at firſt, become at laſt irreſiſtible. *Cicero* was the firſt who had any ſuſpicions of his deſigns upon the government, and ſaw the dangerous enterprizing ſpirit which lurked beneath that diſguiſe of good humour and affability, which he conſidered as a deceitful calm that is the forerunner of a dreadful tempeſt; and he ſaid of him, *In all his projects and intrigues I plainly diſcover the diſpoſition of a tyrant; but when I ſee his hair lie in ſo exact order, and obſerve him ſo often adjuſting it* (5) *with his finger, I cannot imagine it ſhould enter into ſuch a man's thoughts to ſubvert the* Roman *ſtate.* But this was ſaid afterwards.

The firſt proof he had of the people's good-will to him, was, when he obtained a tribuneſhip in the army againſt *Caius Popilius.* A ſecond and clearer inſtance of their favour appeared upon his making an excellent oration in praiſe of his aunt *Julia*, wife to *Marius*, publickly in the *Forum:* at whoſe funeral he was ſo bold as to bring forth the images of *Marius*, which

of *Cicero*, as *Rualdus* has obſerved.

(5) This was the common reproach of effeminate perſons, witneſs this epigram.

——*Digito qui caput uno*
Scalpit, quid credas hunc ſibi velle virum?

And this line in *Juvenal.*

Qui digito uno ſcalpunt caput.

(6) *Sueto-*

which till then no one durſt produce ſince the government came into *Sylla*'s hands, *Marius*'s party having from that time been declared enemies to the ſtate. For when ſome upon this occaſion exclaimed againſt *Cæſar*, the people on the other ſide were pleaſed with the action, and received it with very great applauſe; admiring him for having revived in the city thoſe honours of *Marius*, which for ſo long time had been buried. It had always been the cuſtom at *Rome* to make funeral orations in praiſe of ancient matrons; but there was no precedent of any upon young women, till *Cæſar* firſt made one upon the death of his own wife. This alſo procured him great favour, and by this expreſſion of affection he won the hearts of the people, who looked upon him as a man of great tenderneſs and extraordinary good-nature.

When he had buried his wife, he went Quæſtor into *Spain* under *Antiſtius Væter*, who was Prætor, whom he honoured ever after, and made his ſon Quæſtor when he himſelf came to be Prætor. At the expiration of his office, he married *Pompeia* his third wife, having then a daughter by *Cornelia* his firſt wife, whom he afterwards married to *Pompey* the Great.

He was ſo profuſe in his expences, that before he had any publick employment, he was in debt thirteen hundred talents. Some thought that by being at ſo great a charge to be popular, he parted with a real and ſolid good, for what was ſhort and uncertain: but in truth he purchaſed what was of the greateſt value at an inconſiderable rate. When he was made ſurveyor of the *Appian* way, he diſburſed beſide the publick money a great ſum out of his private purſe; and when he was Ædile, he provided ſuch a number of gladiators, (6) that he entertained the people with three hundred and twenty duels; and by his great liberality

(6) *Suetonius* tells us he had collected a very great number of gladiators, which made his enemies ſo jealous of him that they

berality and magnificence in all other publick ſpectacles, proceſſions and feaſts, he obſcured the glory of all who went before him, and ingratiated himſelf ſo much with the people, that every one was eager to beſtow upon him new offices, and new honours, in return for his munificence.

There being two factions in the city, that of *Sylla*, which was very powerful, and that of *Marius*, which was then broken, and in a very low condition, he was deſirous to raiſe and revive it again. To this end, whilſt he was in the height of his repute with the people, for the magnificent ſhows he gave as Ædile, he ordered ſome images of *Marius* to be privately made, together with ſome figures of victory bearing trophies in their hands, and theſe he carried in the night, and placed in the capitol. Next morning, when ſome perſons ſaw them glittering with gold, and obſerved the beauty of the workmanſhip, and the inſcriptions which gave an account of *Marius*'s exploits againſt the *Cimbrians*, they were ſurprized at the boldneſs of him who had ſet them up; nor was it difficult to gueſs who it was. The fame of this ſoon ſpread, and brought together a great concourſe of people: ſome preſently cried out that *Cæſar* had deſigns upon the government, becauſe he had revived thoſe honours which were buried by the laws, and by the decrees of the ſenate; that this was done to ſound the temper of the people, whoſe affections he had gained by his magnificent ſhows and entertainments, and to try whether they were tame enough to bear his humour, and ſubmit quietly to his innovations. However *Marius*'s party took courage; and it is incredible what a multitude of them appeared on a ſudden, and came ſhouting into the capitol. Many of them at the ſight of *Marius*'s picture wept for joy, and *Cæſar* was highly extolled as the only perſon, who was a relation

they limited the number, ſo that he exhibited fewer than he intended. *Aliquanto paucioribus, quàm deſtinaverat, paribus.*

(7) But

tion worthy of *Marius*. Upon this the ſenate met, and *Catulus Luctatius*, one of the moſt eminent *Romans* of that time, ſtood up, and accuſed *Cæſar*, cloſing his ſpeech with this remarkable ſaying; Cæſar *no longer undermines the government, but openly plants his batteries againſt it*. But when *Cæſar* had made an apology for himſelf, and ſatisfied the ſenate, his admirers were very much animated, and adviſed him not to let any one ſhake his reſolution, ſince he was likely to get the better of them all in a little time, and to be the firſt man in the ſtate with the peoples conſent.

At the ſame time *Metellus* the High-prieſt died; and *Catulus* and *Iſauricus*, perſons of high reputation, and who bore a great ſway in the ſenate, were competitors for the office; yet *Cæſar* would not give way to them, but preſented himſelf to the people as a candidate againſt them. The ſeveral intereſts ſeeming very equal, *Catulus*, who becauſe he had the moſt honour to loſe, was the moſt apprehenſive of the event, ſent to *Cæſar* to buy him off, with offers of a great ſum of money: but he anſwered, *That he would increaſe his debts by a larger ſum than that to carry on the competition.* Upon the day of election, as his mother conducted him out of doors with tears in her eyes, he ſaluted her, and ſaid; *Well mother, to-day you'll ſee me either High-prieſt, or an exile.* When the votes were taken, after a great ſtruggle, he carried it, and by that gave the ſenate and nobility reaſon to fear he might now raiſe the people to the greateſt height of arrogance. Therefore *Piſo* and *Catulus* blamed *Cicero* for letting *Cæſar* eſcape, when in the conſpiracy of *Catiline* he had given the government ſuch an advantage againſt him. For *Catiline*, who had deſigned not only to change the preſent ſtate of affairs, but entirely to ſubvert the whole commonwealth, and bring every thing into confuſion, had himſelf eſcaped, the evidence not being full againſt him, as they had not yet diſcovered the whole of his deſign. But he had

left

left *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* in the city, to ſupply his place in the conſpiracy. Whether they had any ſecret encouragement and aſſiſtance from *Cæſar* is uncertain; however they were fully convicted in the ſenate, and when *Cicero* the Conſul aſked the ſeveral opinions of the ſenators, how they would have them puniſhed, all who ſpoke before *Cæſar* ſentenced them to death; but *Cæſar* ſtood up, and delivered a ſtudied ſpeech, wherein he told them, *That he thought it unprecedented and unjuſt, to take away the lives of two perſons of their birth and rank before they were fairly tried, unleſs there was an abſolute neceſſity for it; but that if they were kept confined in any town which* Cicero *himſelf ſhould chuſe, till* Catiline *was defeated, then the ſenate might in peace and at their leiſure determine what was beſt to be done.* This ſentiment had ſo much appearance of humanity, and was delivered with ſuch force of eloquence, that not only thoſe who ſpoke after him cloſed with it, but even they who had before given a contrary opinion, now came over to his; till it came to the turn of *Catulus* and *Cato* to ſpeak. They warmly oppoſed it; and *Cato* inſinuated in his ſpeech ſome ſuſpicions of *Cæſar* himſelf, and preſt the matter ſo far, that the criminals were given up to ſuffer execution. As *Cæſar* was going out of the ſenate, many of the young men who guarded *Cicero* ran in with their naked ſwords to aſſault him. But *Curio*, as it is ſaid, threw his gown over him, and conveyed him out, and *Cicero* himſelf gave a ſign to his guards, who watched the motions of his eye, not to kill him, either for fear of the people, or becauſe he thought the murder unjuſt and illegal. If this be true, I wonder how *Tully* came to omit it in the book which he wrote concerning his conſulſhip. However he was blamed afterwards for not making uſe of ſo good an opportunity againſt *Cæſar* out of fear of the populace who very much favoured him.

Some time after, when *Cæſar* went into the ſenate to clear himſelf of ſome ſuſpicions he lay under, he

found great clamours raiſed againſt him, whereupon the ſenate ſitting longer than ordinary, the people went up to the houſe in a tumult, and beſet it, demanding *Cæſar*, and requiring them to diſmiſs him. Upon this *Cato*, much fearing a mutiny from the poorer ſort, who inflamed and exaſperated all the reſt, and who now placed all their hopes in *Cæſar*, perſuaded the ſenate to give them a monthly allowance of corn, which put the commonwealth to the extraordinary charge of ſeven million five hundred thouſand drachmas a year (7). This expedient removed all fears for the preſent, and very much weakened *Cæſar*'s power, who at that time was juſt going to be made Prætor, and conſequently would have been more formidable by his office. But there was no publick diſturbance during his prætorſhip, though he met with a diſagreeable accident in his family.

Publius Clodius was a perſon of a patrician family, and eminent both for his riches and eloquence; but in lewdneſs and impudence he exceeded the very worſt of thoſe who were infamous for their debauchery. He was in love with *Pompeia*, *Cæſar*'s wife, and ſhe had no averſion to him. But there were ſtrict guards on her apartment, and *Cæſar*'s mother *Aurelia*, who was a diſcreet woman, being continually about her, made an interview very dangerous and difficult. The *Romans* have a Goddeſs whom they call *the good Goddeſs*, as the *Greeks* have one whom they call *Gynæcea*, that is, *the Goddeſs of the women*. The *Phrygians*, who claim a peculiar title to her, ſay ſhe was mother to King *Midas*: the *Romans* pretend ſhe was one of the *Dryads*, and married to *Faunus*: the *Grecians* affirm that ſhe is that mother of *Bacchus*, whoſe name is not to be uttered: for this reaſon the women who celebrate her feſtival, cover the tents with vine-branches, and according to the fable, a conſecrated dragon is placed near the ſtatue of the Goddeſs. It is not lawful

(7) But this diſtribution was not long continued.

(8) The

ful for a man to be preſent, nor even to be in the houſe, whilſt the ſacred rites are celebrated; but the women by themſelves perform many ceremonies reſembling thoſe uſed in the ſolemnity ſacred to *Orpheus*. When the feſtival comes, the huſband, who is always either Conſul or Prætor, and with him every male creature, quits the houſe; the wife then taking it under her care, prepares it for the ſolemnity, which is performed chiefly in the night-time, attended with mirth and ſport, and ſeveral ſorts of muſick. As *Pompeia* was at that time celebrating this feaſt, *Clodius*, who as yet had no beard, and whoſe face was like that of a young woman, thinking he might paſs undiſcovered, took upon him the habit and diſguiſe of a ſinging woman, and went to *Cæſar*'s houſe. Finding the doors open, he was readily introduced by a young maid who was in the intrigue. She preſently ran to tell *Pompeia*, but not returning ſo ſoon as he expected, he grew uneaſy in waiting for her, and therefore left his poſt, and traverſed the houſe from one room to another, ſtill taking care to avoid the lights, till at laſt *Aurelia*'s woman met him, and invited him to ſuch recreations as the women uſed among themſelves. He refuſed to comply; but ſhe preſently pulled him forward, and aſked him who he was and whence? *Clodius* told her he waited for *Aura*, one of *Pompeia*'s maids, and ſo betrayed himſelf by his voice: upon which the woman ſhrieking, ran into the company where there were lights, and cried out, ſhe had diſcovered a man. The women were all in a fright: *Aurelia* preſently threw a veil over the ſacred utenſils, put a ſtop to the ſolemnity, and having ordered the doors to be ſhut, ran about with lights to find *Clodius*, who was got into the maid's room that he had come with, and was ſeized there. The women knew him, and drove him out of doors, and preſently, though it was yet night, went home to tell their huſbands the ſtory. In the morning it was reported through the city that *Clodius* had made

made this impious attempt, and all agreed that he ought to be puniſhed as an offender, not only againſt thoſe whom he had affronted, but alſo againſt the publick, and the Gods. Upon which one of the tribunes accuſed him of impiety, and ſome of the principal ſenators came in, and witneſſed againſt him, that beſide many other horrible crimes, he had been guilty of inceſt with his own ſiſter, who was married to *Lucullus*. But the people ſet themſelves againſt the intereſt of the nobility, and defended *Clodius*; which was of great ſervice to him with the judges, who were at a loſs how to proceed, being afraid to provoke the commonalty. *Cæſar* immediately divorced *Pompeia*; but being ſummoned as a witneſs againſt

(8) The words in the original are, τῶν πλείσων δικαςῶν συσκιχυμένας τοῖς πράγμασι τὰς γνώμας ἀποδιδόντων. Mr. *Dacier* tranſlates them thus; *Moſt of the judges confounding this with ſome other things gave their judgment upon them all together.* He ſuppoſes that *Plutarch* in this paſſage intended to expreſs the *Latin* phraſe, *ferre ſententias per ſaturam*; by which the *Romans* meant the determining ſeveral different things by one vote. Thus when a law was propoſed to the people conſiſting of ſeveral articles, and they were to confirm or reject the whole at once, it was called *Satura lex*. In the ſame manner he ſuppoſes the judges to have joined ſeveral other cauſes with this of *Clodius*, and to have made one ſentence ſerve for all of them. However this method of determining *per Saturam* was found to be attended with great inconveniences, and was therefore prohibited by the *Lex Cæcilia et Didia*. *Plutarch* mentions this trial of *Clodius* again in the life of *Cicero*, and the words there are, τὰς δέλτους οἱ πλεῖσοι συσκιχυμένας τοῖς γράμμασιν ἦνεγκαν. i. e. *When the judges gave their votes, they had confounded and obſcured the letters upon their tablets.* Mr. *Dacier* thinks that that paſſage ſhould be corrected by this, and that inſtead of γράμμασιν we ſhould there read πράγμασιν.

But this opinion of Mr. *Dacier* is liable to ſeveral objections. 1. The *Greek* words themſelves in this place will not without great violence admit of his tranſlation. 2. *Plutarch* ſays *Moſt of the judges*, &c. But it cannot be imagined that there was ſuch irregularity and confuſion in a *Roman* court of judicature, that when a number of judges ſat to determine a cauſe, ſome of them ſhould give judgment upon that cauſe ſingly, and the reſt join ſeveral other cauſes with it. 3. Though the people might by one vote determine concerning the ſeveral clauſes of a law that was propoſed to them, yet it is extremely

againſt *Clodius*, he ſaid, *He had nothing to charge him with.* This looking like a paradox, the accuſer aſked him, *Why then he parted with his wife? Cæſar* replied, *Becauſe I cannot bear that my wife ſhould be ſo much as ſuſpected.* Some ſay that *Cæſar* ſpoke as he thought; others, that he did it to gratify the people, whom he ſaw very earneſt to ſave *Clodius*. *Clodius* therefore was acquitted, moſt of the judges having obſcured the letters upon their tablets (8), that they might not be in danger from the people by condemning him, nor in diſgrace with the nobility by acquitting him.

The province of (9) *Spain* fell to *Cæſar*'s lot at the expiration of his prætorſhip; but he found himſelf very

extremely abſurd to ſuppoſe that this was practiſed by the judges in civil or criminal cauſes, and that they determined ſeveral of them at once by the ſame ſentence. 4. If this had ever been done, it could not have been allowed in this caſe, becauſe the *Lex Cæcilia et Didia* was paſſed many years before the trial of *Clodius*. 5. If it had been allowed of, it would have been of no uſe to the judges; for their ſentence would nevertheleſs have been publickly known, which they were deſirous to prevent. It is much more probable that this paſſage ſhould be corrected by that in the life of *Cicero*, and that inſtead of πράγμασι we ſhould here read γράμμασι. The manner of paſſing ſentence among the *Romans* in criminal cauſes was this. When the accuſation and defence were finiſhed, the *Prætor* gave to each of the judges three tablets covered with wax, on one of which was marked the letter *A*, i. e. *Abſolvo*, on the ſecond *C.* i. e. *Condemno*, and on the third *N. L.* i. e. *Non liquet*. They then withdrew to conſult, and each threw into an urn what tablet he pleaſed; theſe were then counted, and the *Prætor* pronounced the ſentence according to the greater number, either abſolving the criminal, or condemning him, or referring the determination to another trial. The letters being marked upon wax might eaſily be effaced or obſcured; and this the judges in that hazardous ſituation probably did, that it might be quite uncertain what their determination was. And that there was ſome uncertainty appears from what *Plutarch* ſays in the life of *Cicero*; for after mentioning that the judges were ſo terrified that they procured a guard for their protection, and that moſt of them obſcured the letters upon their tablets, he adds, *Moſt of the tablets, however, ſeemed to be abſolutory.*

(9) They who are not converſant in the *Roman* antiquities will be apt to conclude from this

very much embarraſſed by his creditors, who, as he was going off, came upon him, and were very preſſing and importunate. This made him apply to *Craſſus*, who was the richeſt man in *Rome*, but ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of *Cæſar*'s activity and warmth of temper to enable him to oppoſe *Pompey* with ſucceſs. *Craſſus* undertook to ſatisfy thoſe creditors who were moſt troubleſome and untractable, and engaged himſelf to the value of eight hundred and thirty talents: upon which *Cæſar* was now at liberty to go to his province. In his journey as he was croſſing the *Alps*, and paſſing by a ſmall village of the barbarians, which was ſtocked with but few inhabitants, and thoſe wretchedly poor, his friends ſmiled, and aſked him by way of raillery, *If there were any canvaſing for offices there, any contention which ſhould be uppermoſt, or any feuds of great men one againſt another?* To which *Cæſar* anſwered very ſeriouſly, *For my part I had rather be the firſt man among theſe fellows, than the ſecond man in* Rome. It is ſaid that another time whilſt he was in *Spain*, and reading at a leiſure hour the hiſtory of *Alexander*, he ſat a great while very thoughtful, and at laſt burſt into tears. His friends were ſurprized, and aſked him the reaſon of it. *Do you think*, ſaid he, *I have not juſt cauſe to weep, when I conſider that* Alexander *at my age had conquered ſo many nations, and that I have all this time done nothing that is memorable?*

As ſoon as he came into *Spain* he was very active, and in a few days had added ten new cohorts to thoſe twenty which were there before. With theſe he marched againſt the *Gallæci* and *Luſitani*, conquered them, and advancing as far as the ocean, ſubdued other nations which never before had been ſubject to the *Romans*. Having managed his military affairs with good ſucceſs, he was equally happy in the courſe of

this paſſage that *Cæſar* had the government of all *Spain* conferred upon him; whereas the further *Spain* only fell to his lot, *ex prætura*

of his civil government. For he eſtabliſhed concord and tranquillity in the ſeveral cities, and took eſpecial care to compoſe the differences betwixt debtors and creditors. He ordered that the creditor ſhould receive two thirds of the debtor's yearly income, and that the other third ſhould remain to the debtor himſelf, till by this method the whole debt was at laſt diſcharged. This conduct made him leave his province with great reputation; though he carried off great wealth himſelf, and enriched his ſoldiers, who therefore complimented him with the title of *Imperator*.

There was a law among the *Romans*, that whoever deſired the honour of a triumph ſhould ſtay without the city; and another, that thoſe who put up for the Conſulſhip ſhould appear perſonally upon the place. *Cæſar* came home at the very time of chuſing Conſuls; and being in a ſtrait between theſe two oppoſite laws, ſent to the ſenate to deſire that he might be allowed to ſue for the Conſulſhip though abſent. *Cato* ſtood up in defence of the law, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his requeſt; afterwards perceiving that *Cæſar* had prevailed with a great part of the ſenate to comply with it, he made it his buſineſs to gain time, and waſted an whole day in harangues. Upon which *Cæſar* thought fit to drop the triumph, and purſued the Conſulſhip. He came therefore preſently into the city, and entered upon a project which deceived all but *Cato*. This was the reconciling of *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, who then bore the greateſt ſway in *Rome*. There had been a miſunderſtanding between them; but *Cæſar* made up the difference, and by this means ſtrengthened himſelf by the united power of both. Thus he privately undermined the government by an action which ſeemingly was only an office of kindneſs and humanity. For it was not the quarrel betwixt *Pompey*

prætura ulteriorem ſortitus Hiſpaniam, ſays *Suetonius*, which comprehended *Luſitania* and *Bætica*, that is *Portugal* and *Andaluſia*.

Pompey and *Cæſar*, as moſt men imagine, that was the foundation of the civil wars, but their union, their conſpiring at firſt to ſubvert the ariſtocracy, and their quarrelling at laſt which ſhould be monarch. *Cato*, who often foretold what the conſequence of this alliance would be, had then the character of an ill-tempered and overbuſy man, but afterwards the reputation of a wiſe though unfortunate counſellor. Thus *Cæſar* being doubly guarded with the intereſt of *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, was promoted to the Conſulſhip, and declared by the general ſuffrage of the people with *Calpurnius Bibulus*.

When he was fixed in his office he propoſed ſome laws which were more worthy of a bold mutinous tribune than a Conſul, and were deſigned only to gain the favour of the commonalty by decreeing to them a diviſion of lands and a diſtribution of corn. The beſt and moſt honourable of the ſenators oppoſed it; upon which, having long waited for ſuch a pretence, he openly proteſted *that he was forced unwillingly to appeal to the people, and that the rigour and oppoſition of the ſenate had driven him to the neceſſity of flying to them for their protection.* This he did accordingly; and having *Craſſus* on one ſide of him, and *Pompey* on the other, he aſked them two, whether they conſented to the laws he had propoſed? They owned their aſſent; upon which he deſired them to aſſiſt him againſt thoſe who with ſword in hand had threatened to oppoſe him. They engaged they would; and *Pompey* added further, that *he would not only meet their ſwords with ſword in hand, but that he would bring a buckler with him beſides.* This ſpeech the nobles reſented, as neither ſuitable to his dignity, nor becoming the reverence due to the ſenate, but as altogether raſh and inſolent: the people however were pleaſed with it.

Cæſar, that he might ſtill more firmly ſecure to himſelf the intereſt of *Pompey*, gave him his daughter *Julia* in marriage, who had before been contracted to *Servilius*

Servilius Cæpio, and told *Servilius* he ſhould have *Pompey*'s daughter, who was not unprovided neither, but deſigned for *Sylla*'s ſon, *Fauſtus*. A little time after *Cæſar* married *Calpurnia*, the daughter of *Piſo*, and made *Piſo* Conſul for the year following. *Cato* exclaimed loudly againſt this, and proteſted with a great deal of warmth, that it was intolerable that the government ſhould be proſtituted by marriages, and that theſe men ſhould advance one another to the commands of armies, provinces, and to other great poſts, by the intereſt of women.

Bibulus, *Cæſar*'s collegue, finding it was to no purpoſe to oppoſe *Cæſar*'s laws, and having been frequently in danger of being murdered in the *Forum* together with *Cato*, confined himſelf to his houſe, and there ſpent the remaining part of his Conſulſhip. *Pompey*, when he was married, preſently filled the *Forum* with ſoldiers, and ſo ſecured to the people their new laws, and to *Cæſar* the government of all *Gaul* on both ſides of the *Alps*, together with *Illyricum*, and the command of four legions for five years. *Cato* made ſome attempts to oppoſe theſe meaſures, but was ſent to priſon by *Cæſar*, who imagined he would appeal to the tribunes. But when *Cæſar* ſaw that he went along without ſpeaking a word, and that not only the nobility reſented it, but that the people alſo out of their veneration to *Cato*'s virtue waited on him, and by their ſilence and dejected looks, expreſſed a great concern for him, he himſelf privately deſired one of the tribunes to reſcue *Cato*. As for the other ſenators, ſome few of them attended the houſe; the reſt being diſguſted abſented themſelves. Hence *Conſidius*, a very old man, took occaſion one day to tell *Cæſar*, that *the ſenators did not meet becauſe they were afraid of his ſoldiers*. *Cæſar* preſently aſked him, *Why do not you then out of the ſame fear keep at home?* To which the old man replied, that *age was his guard againſt fear, and that the ſmall remains of his life were not worth much care.*

But the moſt ſcandalous thing that was done in *Cæſar*'s Conſulſhip, was his promoting *Clodius*, who attempted to diſhonour his bed, and who had impiouſly profaned the ſacred and myſterious vigils. Him he preferred on purpoſe to ruin *Cicero*; nor did *Cæſar* take the field till they had overpowered him, and driven him out of *Italy*.

Such was *Cæſar*'s conduct before the wars of *Gaul*. After this he ſeems to have begun his courſe afreſh, and to have entered upon a new and different ſcene of action. Thoſe battles which he afterwards fought, and thoſe many expeditions in which he ſubdued the *Gauls*, ſhow him to have been a ſoldier and a General, not in the leaſt inferior to any of the greateſt and moſt admired commanders. For if we compare him with the *Fabii*, the *Metelli*, the *Scipio*'s, and with thoſe that were his contemporaries, or not long before him, *Sylla*, *Marius*, the two *Luculli*, or even *Pompey* himſelf, whoſe fame for every kind of military virtue reached the heavens, we ſhall find *Cæſar*'s actions to have ſurpaſſed them all. One he excelled on the account of the difficulty of the places where he fought; another in reſpect of the large extent of country which he ſubdued; ſome in the number and ſtrength of the enemies whom he conquered; and ſome in the roughneſs and barbarity of the tempers of thoſe people whom he poliſhed and civilized; others in his humanity and clemency to thoſe he overpowered; and others in his gifts and gratuities to his ſoldiers; all in the number of the battles which he fought, and of the enemies whom he killed. For he had not purſued the wars in *Gaul* full ten years, before he took by ſtorm eight hundred towns, and ſubdued three hundred ſtates; and whereas the number of men with whom

(1) *Cæſar* himſelf gives us an account of this action in his third book of the civil wars, and tells us, that this ſoldier received two hundred and thirty darts upon his target, and adds, that he gave him as a reward for his valour two hundred thouſand

whom at different times he was engaged amounted in all to three millions, one million of these he slew in battle, and made another million prisoners. The zeal and affection of his soldiers for him was such, that those who in other expeditions were but ordinary men, were invincible and irresistible when they went upon any danger where *Cæsar*'s glory was concerned. Such an one was *Acilius*, who in a sea-fight before *Marseilles* flung himself into a galley belonging to the enemy, where though he had his right hand cut off with a sword, yet still held his buckler in his left, and struck the enemies in the face with it, till he defeated them, and made himself master of the vessel. Such another was *Cassius Scæva*, who in the battle fought against *Pompey* near *Dyrrhachium*, having lost one of his eyes by an arrow, having his shoulder pierced with one javelin, and his thigh run through with another, and having received (1) a hundred and thirty darts upon his target, called to the enemy, as though he would surrender himself; but when two of them came up to him, he cut off the arm of one with his sword, and by a blow on the face forced the other to retire, whilst with the assistance of his own party he made his escape. Again in *Britain*, when some of the vanguard were accidentally fallen into a morass full of water, and there assaulted by the enemy, a common soldier, whilst *Cæsar* stood and looked on, threw himself into the midst of them, and after many and signal demonstrations of his valour, beat off the barbarians, and rescued the men. At last he himself with much ado, partly by swimming, and partly by wading, past the morass, but in the passage lost his shield. *Cæsar* and those about him were astonished at the action, and went to meet him with joy and acclamations; but the soldier, very much

(1) *Cæsar* thousand sesterces, and promoted him from the eighth rank to the first, and besides other military rewards, decreed double pay to the soldiers of that cohort.

much dejected, and in tears, threw himſelf down at *Cæſar*'s feet, and begged his pardon for having loſt his buckler. Another time in *Africa*, *Scipio* having taken a ſhip of *Cæſar*'s in which was *Granius Petronius*, who had lately been made Quæſtor, put the other paſſengers to the ſword, but told the Quæſtor *that he gave him his life:* but he replied, *It is not uſual for* Cæſar's *ſoldiers to take, but to give life*; and having ſaid this, he ran upon his ſword, and killed himſelf.

This courage and theſe principles of honour were inſpired into them, and cheriſhed by *Cæſar* himſelf, who by his liberal diſtribution of money and honours, ſhowed them, that he did not from the wars heap up wealth for his own luxury, or the gratifying his private pleaſure, but that he took care to ſettle a ſure fund for the reward and encouragement of valour, and that he looked upon himſelf as rich only in that which he gave to deſerving ſoldiers. Beſides, there was no danger to which he did not willingly expoſe himſelf, no labour from which he pleaded an exemption. His contempt of danger was not ſo much admired by his ſoldiers, becauſe they knew how much he loved honour: but his enduring ſo much hardſhip, which he did to all appearance beyond his natural ſtrength, very much aſtoniſhed them. For he was of a ſlender habit of body, had a ſoft and white ſkin, was troubled with pains in his head, and ſubject to an epilepſy, which it is ſaid firſt ſeized him at *Corduba*. But he did not make the weakneſs of his conſtitution a pretext for his eaſe, but uſed war as the beſt phyſick againſt his indiſpoſitions; and by continual marches, coarſe diet, and frequent lodging in the fields, he ſtruggled with his diſeaſes, and prepared his body againſt all attacks. He ſlept generally in his chariots or litters, and employed even his reſt in action. In the day he was carried to view caſtles, garriſons, or fortifications, in his chariot, having always a ſervant ſitting with him, whoſe buſineſs

it

it was to write down what he dictated as he went, and a ſoldier attending behind, who carried his ſword. He uſually drove ſo briſkly, that when he firſt ſet out from *Rome* he arrived at the river *Rhone* within eight days. He had been an expert rider from his childhood; for it was uſual with him to hold his hands cloſe behind him, and to put his horſe to full ſpeed. But in the wars he had improved himſelf ſo far as to dictate letters on horſeback, and to furniſh employment for two ſecretaries at the ſame time, or as *Oppius* ſays, for more. And it is thought that he was the firſt who found out a new way of converſing with his friends by letters, when either through multitude of buſineſs, or the large extent of the city, he had not time for a perſonal conference about ſuch incidents as required a ſudden diſpatch.

How little concerned he was about his diet, we may learn from this remarkable inſtance. When *Valerius Leo* invited him one night to ſupper at *Milan*, and treated him with *Aſparagus*, upon which inſtead of oil he had poured ſweet ointment, *Cæſar* fed on it without any diſguſt, and reprimanded his friends for finding fault with it. *For it was enough*, ſaid he, *not to eat what you did not like; but he who reflects on another man's want of breeding, ſhows he wants it as much himſelf.* Another time upon the road being driven by a ſtorm into a poor man's cottage, where he found but one room, and that ſuch as would afford but a mean reception to a ſingle perſon, he told his companions, that *the moſt honourable places ought to be given to the beſt men, but the moſt neceſſary accommodations to the weakeſt*; and accordingly ordered that *Oppius*, who was infirm, ſhould lodge within, whilſt he and the reſt ſlept under a ſhed at the door.

His firſt war in *Gaul* was againſt the *Helvetians* and *Tigurini*, who having burnt twelve of their own towns, and four hundred villages, would have marched forward through that part of *Gaul* which was ſubject to the *Romans*, as the *Cimbrians* and *Teutones* formerly had done.

done. For they were not inferior to them in courage, and in numbers they were equal, being in all three hundred thouſand, of which one hundred and ninety thouſand were fighting men. *Cæſar* did not engage the *Tigurini* in perſon, but (2) ſent *Labienus* his lieutenant, who routed them near the river *Arar*: but the *Helvetians* ſurprized *Cæſar*, and unexpectedly ſet upon him as he was conducting his army (3) to a confederate town. However he managed ſo as to get into a place well fortified, where, when he had muſtered and drawn up his men, his horſe was brought to him; upon which he ſaid, *When I have won the battle, I will uſe my horſe for the purſuit, but at preſent let us go againſt the enemy:* accordingly he charged them furiouſly on foot. After a long and ſharp engagement he drove the main army out of the field, but found the greateſt difficulty when he came to their carriages and ramparts, where not only the men ſtood and fought, but the women alſo and children defended themſelves, till they were cut to pieces; inſomuch that the fight was ſcarce ended till midnight. This action, in itſelf very great, *Cæſar* crowned with another more glorious, by gathering in a body all the barbarians that had eſcaped out of the battle, above one hundred thouſand in number, and obliging them to repair to the country which they had deſerted, and the cities which they had burnt. This he did for fear the *Germans* ſhould paſs the *Rhine*, and poſſeſs themſelves of the country whilſt it lay uninhabited.

His ſecond war was in favour of the *Gauls* againſt the *Germans*, though ſome time before he had procured

(2) *Cæſar* ſays himſelf that he left *Labienus* to guard the works he had raiſed from the lake of *Geneva* to mount *Jura*, and that he marched in perſon at the head of three legions to attack the *Tigurini* in their paſſage over the *Soane*, and killed a great number of them.

(3) *Bibracte*, called at preſent *Autun*. *Cæſar* gives us a deſcription of this engagement in his firſt book of the war in *Gaul*. Here it was that in order to prevent all hopes of a retreat, and to ſhare equally with all in the

cured *Arioviſtus* their King to be owned at *Rome* as an ally. But they were very unſufferable neighbours to thoſe under his dominion, and it was probable that when occaſion offered, they would not be ſatisfied with their late acquiſitions, but would attempt to ſeize on the reſt of *Gaul*, and drive out the inhabitants. But finding his commanders timorous, and eſpecially thoſe of the young nobility, who ſeemed to think that in an expedition under *Cæſar* they ſhould have nothing to do but to enrich themſelves and live in eaſe and pleaſure, he called them together, and adviſed them to retire, and not to run the hazard of a battle againſt their inclinations, ſince they were ſo effeminate and cowardly; telling them withal, that he would take only the tenth legion, and march againſt the barbarians, whom he did not expect to find an enemy more formidable than the *Cimbri*, nor ſhould they find him a General inferior to *Marius*. Upon this the tenth legion deputed ſome of their body to return him thanks; and the other legions reproached their officers, and with great vigour and zeal followed him many days journey, till they encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy. *Arioviſtus*'s reſolution began to waver upon their very approach; for not expecting that the *Romans* would attack the *Germans*, but on the contrary that if attacked themſelves they would not have ſuſtained the charge, he admired *Cæſar*'s courage, and at the ſame time ſaw his own army under a great conſternation. They were ſtill more diſcouraged by the prophecies of their (4) holy women, who by obſerving the eddies of rivers, and taking omens from the windings and noiſe of

the danger, he ſent back his horſe, the reſt following his example.

(4) It is in the *Greek* Τὰ μαντεύματα τῶν ἱερῶν γυναικῶν; but *M. de Thou* is of opinion that inſtead of ἱερῶν it ought to be ἰδίων *their own wives*. This conjecture is juſtified by the words of *Dion*, αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν βαρβάρων, *the wives of the barbarians themſelves*, and by the expreſſion in *Cæſar*, *Matres familias eorum*.

(5) That

of brooks, foretold future events, and warned them not to engage before the next new moon. *Cæſar* having had intimation of this, and ſeeing the *Germans* lie ſtill, thought it expedient to attack them whilſt they were under theſe apprehenſions, rather than ſit ſtill and wait their time. Accordingly he made his approaches to their fortifications and to the hills where they were encamped, and ſo harraſſed and exaſperated them that at laſt they came down with great fury to engage. But he gained a glorious victory, and purſued them for three hundred furlongs (5) as far as the *Rhine*; all which ſpace was covered with ſpoils, and bodies of the ſlain. *Arioviſtus* made ſhift to paſs the *Rhine* with the ſmall remains of his army; for it is ſaid the number of the ſlain amounted to eighty thouſand.

After this action *Cæſar* left his army at their winter-quarters in the country of the *Sequani*, and, in order to attend his affairs at *Rome*, went into that part of *Gaul* which lies on the *Po*, and was part of his province; for the river *Rubicon* divides the *Ciſalpine Gaul* from the reſt of *Italy*. There he remained and employed himſelf in cultivating the favour of the people, who flocked to him in great numbers, and always found their requeſts anſwered: for he never diſmiſſed any without preſent pledges of his favour, and further hopes for the future.

During all this time of the war in *Gaul*, *Pompey* never diſcovered how on one ſide *Cæſar* conquered his enemies with the arms of *Rome*, and on the other ſubdued the *Romans* with the money which he had got from his enemies. But when *Cæſar* heard that the *Belgæ*,

(5) That ſeems impoſſible. Three hundred furlongs make thirty-ſeven miles and a half. There muſt certainly be ſome error in the text; and that there is ſo is plain from *Cæſar*, who makes the diſtance to be no more than five miles. *Atque omnes hoſtes*, ſays he, *terga vertere-runt, neque prius fugere deſiiterunt quam ad flumen Rhenum millia paſſuum ex eo loco circiter quinque pervenerunt*; and that *Cæſar* wrote it *millia quinque* and not *millia quinquaginta*, as it is in ſome editions, is evident from this,

Belgæ, who were the moſt powerful of all the *Gauls*, and inhabited a third part of the country, had revolted, and that they had got together a great many thouſand men in arms, he immediately directed his courſe that way with great expedition, and falling upon the enemy, as they were ravaging the country of the *Gauls* his allies, he ſoon defeated them, and put them to flight. For though their numbers were great, yet they made but a ſlender defence, ſo that the marſhes and deep rivers were made paſſable to the *Roman* foot, by the vaſt quantity of dead bodies. Thoſe revolters who dwelt upon the ſea-coaſts ſurrendered without fighting, and therefore he led his army againſt the *Nervii*, who are the moſt uncivilized and moſt warlike people of all in thoſe parts. Theſe live in a cloſe woody country; and having lodged their children and their goods in a deep hollow within a large foreſt, they fell upon *Cæſar* with a body of ſixty thouſand men before he was prepared for them, and while he was making his encampment. They ſoon routed his cavalry, and having ſurrounded the twelfth and ſeventh legions, killed all the officers; and had not *Cæſar* himſelf ſnatched up a buckler, and forced his way through his own men, to come up to the barbarians; or had not the (6) tenth legion, when they ſaw him in danger, ran in from the tops of the hills, where they lay, and broke through the enemies ranks, to reſcue him, in all probability his army had been entirely cut off. But through the influence of *Cæſar*'s valour, the *Romans* in this conflict exerted more than ordinary courage: yet with their utmoſt efforts they were not able to beat the enemy out of the

this, that the *Greek* verſion renders it σάδια τετταράκονλα forty furlongs, which anſwer exactly to five miles. *Plutarch* without doubt wrote it *thirty furlongs*, but the copyers afterwards tranſcribed it *three hundred*.

(6) Thus it ought to be tranſlated, and not the twelfth, as it is in the text. For *Cæſar* himſelf tells us that *Labienus* ſent the tenth legion to his aſſiſtance; the twelfth was employed elſewhere. There is a fine deſcription of this battle left us by *Cæſar*, lib. 2.

(7) *Plu-*

the field, but cut them off fighting in their own defence. For out of ſixty thouſand ſoldiers, not above five hundred ſurvived the battle; and of four hundred of their ſenators not above three. When the *Roman* ſenate had received news of this action, they voted ſacrifices and feſtivals to be celebrated for the ſpace of fifteen days, which was longer than ever had been obſerved for any victory before. For the danger appeared great, becauſe they were engaged with ſo many ſtates at once, and the favour of the people to *Cæſar* made the victory more eſteemed becauſe he was conqueror. For he was now retired to his winter-quarters by the *Po*, where, after he had ſettled the affairs of *Gaul*, he reſided in order to proſecute his deſigns at *Rome*.

All who were candidates for offices uſed his aſſiſtance, and were ſupplied with money from him to corrupt the people, and buy their votes, in return for which, when they were choſen, they did all they could to advance his power. But what was more conſiderable, the moſt eminent and powerful men in *Rome* in great numbers made their court to him at *Luca*, as *Pompey*, and *Craſſus*, and *Appius* the Prætor of *Sardinia*, and *Nepos* the Proconſul of *Spain*; ſo that there were upon the place at one time a hundred and twenty lictors, and more than two hundred ſenators. Having conſulted together they came to this agreement, that *Pompey* and *Craſſus* ſhould be Conſuls again for the following year; that *Cæſar* ſhould have a freſh ſupply of money, and that his command ſhould be renewed to him for five years more. It ſeemed very abſurd to all thinking men, that thoſe very perſons who had received ſo much money from *Cæſar*, ſhould perſuade

(7) *Plutarch* is here giving us an account of the war with the *Uſipetes*, and *Tenchteres*, which happened under the Conſulſhip of *Craſſus*, and *Pompey*; but there were ſeveral conſiderable tranſactions which *Plutarch* has omitted, in a word, all that is related in *Cæſar*'s third book of the war in *Gaul*.

(8) It is in the original *in his Ephemerides*; from whence it appears that *Plutarch* in this place calls *Cæſar*'s commentaries his Ephemerides; for which *Rualdus* has juſtly cenſured him.

For

perſuade the ſenate to grant him more, as if he were in want; though indeed they did not ſo much perſuade as compel the ſenate, who at the ſame time regretted what they were forced to decree. *Cato* was not preſent, for they had ſent him off very ſeaſonably into *Cyprus*; but *Favonius*, who was a zealous imitator of *Cato*, when he found he could do no good by oppoſition, broke out of the houſe, and loudly declaimed againſt theſe proceedings to the people. But none paid any attention to him; ſome ſlighted him out of reſpect to *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, others to gratify *Cæſar*, on the hopes of whoſe favour alone their life ſeemed to depend.

After this, *Cæſar* returned again to his forces in *Gaul*, where (7) he found that country involved in a dangerous war, two powerful nations of the *Germans* having lately paſt the *Rhine*, and made inroads into it; one of them called the *Upſipetes*, and the other the *Tenchteri*. Of the war with this people, *Cæſar* himſelf has given this account in his commentaries (8). The barbarians having ſent ambaſſadors to treat with him, during the treaty ſet upon him in his march, by which means with eight hundred men they routed five thouſand of his horſe, who did not ſuſpect their coming. Afterwards they ſent other ambaſſadors to purſue the ſame fraudulent practices; theſe he kept in cuſtody, and led on his army againſt the barbarians, as judging it would betray too much eaſineſs, if he ſhould keep faith with thoſe who broke their promiſes, and could not be obliged by any league. *Canuſius* ſays, that when the ſenate decreed feſtivals and ſacrifices for this victory, *Cato* declared it to be his opinion,

For they were two works of a different nature. *Cæſar*'s Ephemerides were journals, wherein he minuted down every thing as it occurred day after day; and his commentaries are a regular hiſtory of his expeditions as they were performed annually. Theſe laſt are ὑπομνήματα, and the other ἐφημερίδες, *Diaries*. *Plutarch* therefore ought not to have confounded thoſe two works together.

(9) The

opinion, that *Cæſar* ought to be given up into the hands of the barbarians; that ſo the guilt which this breach of faith might otherwiſe bring upon the publick, might be expiated by transferring the curſe on him who was the occaſion of it. Of thoſe who paſt the *Rhine* there were four hundred thouſand cut off; the few who eſcaped were ſheltered by the *Sicambri*, a people of *Germany*.

(9) *Cæſar* took hold of this pretence to invade the *Germans*, being otherwiſe ambitious of glory, and eſpecially of the honour of being the firſt man that ſhould paſs the *Rhine* with an army. He preſently laid a bridge over it, though it was very wide, and in that place deeper than ordinary, and at the ſame time rough and rapid, carrying down with its ſtream trunks of trees, and other timber, which much ſhocked and weakened the foundations of his bridge; but he drove great piles of wood into the bottom of the river above the bridge, both to reſiſt the impreſſion of ſuch bodies, and to break the force of the torrent; and by this means he finiſhed his bridge in an incredibly ſhort ſpace of time, it being the work but of ten days. In the paſſage of his army over it, he met with no oppoſition, the *Suevi* themſelves, who are the moſt warlike people of all *Germany*, flying with their effects into the cloſeſt and moſt woody part of the vales. When he had burnt all the enemy's country, and encouraged thoſe who had remained firm to the *Roman* intereſt, he went back into *Gaul*, after eighteen days ſtay in *Germany*.

But his expedition into *Britain* gave the moſt ſignal

(9) The enemies horſe, who were not at the engagement ſheltered themſelves among the *Sicambri*, to whom *Cæſar* ſent his ſummons requiring them to deliver up to him that body of horſe which had engaged in a war againſt him; they replied that the *Rhine* was the boundary of the *Roman* empire in thoſe parts, and that as he would not allow the *Germans* to paſs that river without his conſent, ſo it was not reaſonable in him to extend his dominions beyond it.

(1) This army conſiſted of eight legions. He tells us himſelf, *lib.* v. that an exceſſive drought had cauſed a ſcarcity in the country, which conſtrained him

nal teſtimony of his courage; for he was the firſt who brought a navy into the weſtern ocean, or who ſailed through the *Atlantick* with an army to make war; and though the iſland is of ſo incredible an extent, that it had given room to many hiſtorians to diſpute, whether ſuch an iſland really exiſted, or whether it was a mere name and fiction; yet he attempted to conquer it, and to carry the *Roman* empire beyond the limits of the known world. He paſſed over thither twice from that part of *Gaul* which lies oppoſite to it, and in ſeveral battles which he fought, did more diſſervice to the enemy, than ſervice to himſelf; for the iſlanders were ſo miſerably poor, that they had nothing worth being plundered of. When he found himſelf unable to put ſuch an end to the war as he wiſhed, he was content to take hoſtages from the King, and to impoſe ſome taxes, and then quitted the iſland.

At his arrival in *Gaul*, he found letters which lay ready to be conveyed over the water to him, from his friends at *Rome*, to give him notice of his daughter's death, who died in labour of a child by *Pompey*. Both *Cæſar* and *Pompey* were much afflicted with her death; their friends too were greatly concerned, becauſe that alliance was now quite broken, which had hitherto kept the commonwealth in peace and tranquillity; for the child alſo died within a few days after the mother. The people took the body of *Julia* by force from the tribunes, and buried it in the *Campus Martius*.

(1) *Cæſar*'s army was now grown very numerous, ſo

(1) him to ſeparate his troops for their better ſubſiſtence, and that he did not quit them till he ſaw them well ſecured, and ſettled in their quarters. The only thing that can poſſibly be condemned in him was his fixing his quarters at too great a diſtance, which put it out of their power to aſſiſt one another in time, when there ſhould be occaſion. *Cæſar* ſeems to juſtify himſelf from that reproach in his fifth book, where he ſays that all thoſe legions, except one which was quartered at a greater diſtance, but in a quiet country, where no danger was to be feared, were poſted within the compaſs of an hundred miles;

ſo that he was forced to divide it into ſeveral parts for the convenience of winter-quarters; therefore when he was gone towards *Italy* according to his cuſtom, there was a ſudden inſurrection in *Gaul*, and great armies were on their march about the country, who attacked the *Romans* in their quarters, and attempted to make themſelves maſters of the forts where they lay. The greateſt and ſtrongeſt party of the rebels, under the command of *Ambiorix*, cut off *Cotta* and *Titurius*, with their army. After that, the enemies inveſted a town, (where *Quintus Cicero* lay with his legion) with an army of ſixty thouſand men, and had almoſt taken it by ſtorm, the *Roman* ſoldiers in it being all wounded, and having quite ſpent themſelves by a vigorous defence beyond their natural ſtrength. But *Cæſar*, who was at a great diſtance, having received notice of this, quickly got together ſeven thouſand men, and haſtened to relieve *Cicero*. The beſiegers being informed of his march raiſed the ſiege, and went with all their forces to meet him, deſpiſing the ſmall number of his troops, and expecting an eaſy conqueſt. *Cæſar*, to nouriſh their preſumption, ſeemed to avoid fighting, and continued retreating as if he had been afraid of them, till he found a place conveniently ſituated for a few to engage againſt many, where he encamped. He reſtrained his ſoldiers from making any incurſion on the enemy, and commanded them to raiſe the ramparts ſtill higher and to barricade the gates, that by a ſhow of fear, they might heighten the enemy's contempt of them; till at laſt they came without any order in great ſecurity to make an attack, when he made a ſally, and put them to flight with the loſs of many men. This quieted the many commotions in thoſe parts of *Gaul*; and *Cæſar* made a progreſs during the winter through ſeveral parts of

but the geographers find it to be of a larger extent.

(2) *Plutarch* paſſes over the whole ſixth book of *Cæſar's* the commentaries, though it contains many conſiderable events that happened between the victory laſt mentioned and the affair

the country, and with great vigilance provided againſt all innovations. At that time three legions came to him to ſupply the place of thoſe he had loſt; two of theſe *Pompey* lent him out of thoſe under his command; the other was newly raiſed in that part of *Gaul* which is near the *Po*.

(2) After this the ſeeds of war, which had long ſince been ſecretly ſown and ſcattered in the more diſtant parts of that country by the moſt powerful men in thoſe warlike nations, ſhot up, and ripened into the greateſt and moſt dangerous war that ever broke out there, both for the number of men in the vigour of their youth, the quantity of arms which were gathered from all parts, the vaſt funds of money laid up for this purpoſe, the ſtrength of the towns, and the difficult ſituation of the country. It being winter, the rivers were frozen, the woods covered with ſnow, and the fields overflowed; ſo that in ſome places the roads could not be diſcerned on account of the ſnow, and in others they were concealed by the overflowing of marſhes and brooks. All theſe difficulties made it ſeem impracticable to *Cæſar* to make any attempt upon the rebels. Many ſtates had revolted together; the chief of them were the *Arverni* and *Carnutes*; the General who had the ſupreme command was *Vercingetorix*, whoſe father the *Gauls* had put to death on ſuſpicion of his aſpiring to abſolute power. He having diſpoſed his army in ſeveral bodies, and ſet officers over them, drew in to his intereſt all the countries round about as far as thoſe that lie upon the *Arar*; and having intelligence of the oppoſition which *Cæſar* met with at *Rome*, he thought to engage all *Gaul* in the war. And if he had done this a little later, when *Cæſar* was taken up with the civil wars, *Italy* had been thrown into as great a conſternation

affair with *Vercingetorix*, of which he is going to give an account, ſuch as the defeat of the *Treviri*, *Cæſar*'s ſecond paſſage over the *Rhine*, and the purſuit of *Ambiorix*.

ſternation as it was before by the *Cimbri*. But at this time *Cæſar*, who was of a genius naturally fitted to make a right uſe of all advantages in war, but more eſpecially underſtood how to improve time, as ſoon as he heard of the revolt, returned immediately the ſame way he went, and ſhowed the barbarians, by the quickneſs of his march in ſuch a ſevere ſeaſon, that the army which was advancing againſt them was invincible. For in leſs time than one would have thought it credible that a courier or expreſs ſhould have come ſo far, he appeared with all his army. In his march he ravaged the country, demoliſhed the forts, and received into his protection thoſe who declared for him; till at laſt the *Hedui* oppoſed him, who before had ſtyled themſelves brethren to the *Romans*, and had been much honoured by them; but now they joined the rebels, to the great diſcouragement of *Cæſar*'s army. Wherefore he removed thence, and paſſed the country of the *Lingones*, being deſirous to reach the territories of the *Sequani*, who were his allies, and who are ſituated next to *Italy* upon the confines of *Gaul*. The enemy having followed him thither, attacked him, and ſurrounded his whole army with their vaſtly ſuperior numbers. He engaged them with great reſolution, and at length totally defeated them (3). But he ſeems to have received ſome check at firſt, for the *Arverni* ſhow to this day a ſword hanging up in one of their temples, which they ſay was taken from *Cæſar*. When it was ſhown him afterwards, he laughed at it, and when ſome of his friends were for having it taken down he would not ſuffer it, looking on it as a thing conſecrated.

After the defeat, a great part of thoſe who had eſcaped, fled with their King into a town called *Aleſia*, which *Cæſar* beſieged, though for the height of the walls,

(3) This paſſage is very obſcure in the original and ſeems defective.

(4) *Plutarch* did not take this account

walls, and number of thoſe who were in garriſon, it ſeemed impregnable. During the ſiege, he found himſelf expoſed to greater danger than can be expreſſed. For the choiceſt men of *Gaul*, picked out of each nation, and well armed, came to relieve *Aleſia*, to the number of three hundred thouſand; nor were there in the town leſs than one hundred and ſeventy thouſand; ſo that *Cæſar* being ſhut up betwixt two ſuch armies, was forced to raiſe two walls, one toward the town, the other againſt the new ſupplies, as knowing that if theſe forces ſhould join, his affairs would be intirely ruined. The danger that he underwent before *Aleſia*, juſtly gained him great honour, and gave him an opportunity of ſhowing more ſignal inſtances of his valour and conduct, than any other battle ever did. One would wonder very much how he ſhould engage and defeat ſo many thouſands of men without the town, (4) and not be perceived by thoſe within; but much more, that the *Romans* themſelves, who guarded their wall which was next the town, ſhould be ſtrangers to it. For even they knew nothing of the victory, till they heard the cries of the men, and lamentations of the women, who were in the place, and had from thence ſeen the *Romans* at a diſtance carrying into their camp a great quantity of bucklers, adorned with gold and ſilver, many breaſtplates ſtained with blood, beſides cups and tents made after the *Gallic* mode. So ſoon was this vaſt army diſſipated, vaniſhing like a phantom or dream, the greateſt part of them being killed upon the ſpot. Thoſe who were in *Aleſia*, after they had given themſelves as well as *Cæſar* much trouble, ſurrendered at laſt: and *Vercingetorix*, who was the chief commander in the war, having put on his beſt armour, and adorned his horſe with the moſt magnificent trappings, rode out of the gates, and took a turn

(4) Dion who ſays that thoſe in the town account from *Cæſar* himſelf, had a diſtinct view of the battle.

turn about *Cæſar* as he was ſitting; then quitting his horſe, he threw off his armour, and laid himſelf quietly at *Cæſar*'s feet, who committed him to cuſtody to be reſerved for a triumph.

Cæſar had long ſince deſigned to ruin *Pompey*, and *Pompey* him; for *Craſſus*, who was the only perſon capable, in caſe either of them was overpowered, to make head againſt the other, had hitherto kept them in due bounds; but he being now ſlain in *Parthia*, the one wanted nothing to make himſelf the greateſt man in *Rome*, but the fall of him who was ſo; nor had the other any way to prevent his own ruin, but by being before-hand with him whom he feared. *Pompey* indeed had not been long under ſuch apprehenſions, having till that time deſpiſed *Cæſar*, as thinking it no difficult matter to cruſh him whom he himſelf had advanced. But *Cæſar* had entertained this deſign from the beginning againſt his antagoniſt, and had retired like an expert wreſtler, to prepare himſelf for the combat. He had improved the ſtrength of his ſoldiery by exerciſing them in the *Gallic* wars, and had heightened his own glory by his great actions, ſo that he was now equal to *Pompey* in reputation and power. Nor did he let go any of thoſe advantages which were now given him by *Pompey* himſelf, by the times, and the ill government of *Rome*, which was ſuch that all who were candidates for offices publickly gave money, and without any ſhame bribed the people, who having received their pay, did not contend for their benefactors with their bare ſuffrages, but with bows, ſwords, and ſlings; ſo that they ſeldom parted without having ſtained the place of election with the blood of men killed upon the ſpot, and the city was in a ſtate of anarchy, like a ſhip without a pilot. The wiſer part therefore wiſhed that things which were carried on with ſo much tumult and fury, might end no worſe than in a monarchy. Some were ſo bold as to declare openly, that the government was incurable but by a monarchy, and that

they

they ought to take that remedy from the hands of the gentleſt phyſician, meaning *Pompey*; who though in words he pretended to decline it, yet in reality uſed his utmoſt efforts to be declared Dictator. *Cato* perceiving his deſign, prevailed with the ſenate to make him ſole Conſul, that he might not aim at the Dictatorſhip, being gratified with the offer of a more legal monarchy. They beſides voted him the continuance of his provinces; for he had two, *Spain*, and all *Africa*, which he governed by his deputies, and maintained armies under him, at the yearly charge of a thouſand talents out of the publick treaſury. Upon this *Cæſar* alſo, by his proxies, demanded the Conſulſhip, and the continuance of his provinces. *Pompey* at firſt did not ſtir in it, but it was oppoſed by *Marcellus* and *Lentulus*, who had always hated *Cæſar*, and now did every thing, whether fit or unfit, which might diſgrace and expoſe him. For they took away the freedom of *Rome* from the *Neocomians*, who were a colony that *Cæſar* had lately planted in *Gaul*; and *Marcellus* being Conſul, ordered one of the ſenators of that city, then at *Rome*, to be whipt; and told him, *he laid that mark upon him to let him know he was no citizen of* Rome, bidding him, *when he went back, to ſhow it* Cæſar.

After *Marcellus*'s Conſulſhip was expired, *Cæſar* opened the treaſures he had been heaping up in *Gaul*, and ſuffered ſuch as had any weight or intereſt in the government to draw from thence what ſums they pleaſed. He diſcharged *Curio*, the tribune, from his great debts, and gave *Paulus*, then Conſul, one thouſand five hundred talents, with which he built a publick hall joining to the *Forum*, in the place where that of *Fulvius* had ſtood. *Pompey*, jealous of theſe preparations, now openly made intereſt, both by himſelf and his friends, to have a ſucceſſor declared to *Cæſar*, and ſent to redemand thoſe ſoldiers whom he had lent him to carry on the war in *Gaul*. *Cæſar* readily diſmiſſed them, having firſt preſented each ſoldier with

two hundred and fifty *Drachmas*. Thoſe who conducted them to *Pompey*, ſpread amongſt the people no very favourable report of *Cæſar*, and flattered *Pompey* himſelf with falſe ſuggeſtions that he was wiſhed for by *Cæſar*'s army; telling him that though his affairs at *Rome* were in an ill poſture, through the envy and craft of his enemies, yet there the army was at his command, and upon their firſt entrance into *Italy* would declare for him, ſo uneaſy were they under *Cæſar*, who had engaged them in ſo many hazardous expeditions, and ſo ſuſpicious of him as aſpiring to the monarchy. Upon this *Pompey* grew preſumptuous and careleſs, and neglected all warlike preparations, as fearing no danger, but attacked him with words and ſpeeches only, thinking to conquer by a majority of votes. But this *Cæſar* ſlighted: for it is ſaid, that one of his captains, who was ſent by him to *Rome*, ſtanding before the ſenate-houſe one day, and being told, that the ſenate would not give *Cæſar* a longer time in his government, clapped his hand on the hilt of his ſword, and ſaid, *But this ſhall.* Yet the demands which *Cæſar* made appeared perfectly equitable; for he propoſed that both *Pompey* and he ſhould lay down their arms, that both ſhould become private men, and each expect a reward of his ſervices from the publick; ſaying that thoſe who diſarmed him, and at the ſame time confirmed *Pompey*'s power, only ſuppreſſed the one to eſtabliſh the other in his tyranny. When *Curio* made theſe propoſals to the people in *Cæſar*'s name, he was highly applauded, and ſome threw garlands upon him, and diſmiſſed him as they do wreſtlers, crowned with flowers. *Antony*, being then tribune, produced a letter ſent from *Cæſar* on this occaſion, and read it, though the Conſuls did what they could to oppoſe it. But *Scipio*,

(5) *Dion* ſays there was not a man for *Pompey*'s diſbanding his troops, and that on the contrary they all voted that *Cæſar* ſhould diſmiſs his, except *Cælius* and *Curio*. And this is no wonder; *Pompey* was then at the gates of *Rome* with a powerful army, which

Scipio, *Pompey*'s father-in-law, propoſed in the ſenate, that if *Cæſar* did not lay down his arms within ſuch a time, he ſhould be voted an enemy; and the Conſuls putting it to the queſtion, *Whether* Pompey *ſhould diſmiſs his ſoldiers*; and again, *Whether* Cæſar *ſhould diſband his*; (5) very few aſſented to the firſt, but almoſt all to the latter. But *Antony* propoſing again, that both ſhould lay down their commiſſions, all unanimouſly agreed to it. *Scipio* was upon this very violent, and *Lentulus* the Conſul cried aloud, *That they had need of* arms, *and not of* ſuffrages *againſt a robber*; ſo that they were adjourned, and changed their robes in token of grief for the diſſenſion.

Afterwards there came other letters from *Cæſar*, which ſeemed yet more moderate; for he propoſed to quit every thing elſe, and only to have *Gallia Ciſalpina*, *Illyricum*, and two legions, till he ſhould ſtand a ſecond time for the Conſulſhip. *Cicero* the orator, who was lately returned from *Cilicia*, endeavoured to reconcile the differences, and ſoftened *Pompey*, who was willing to comply in other things, but not to allow him the ſoldiers. At laſt *Cicero* prevailed with *Cæſar*'s friends, who were now more flexible, to accept of the provinces, and ſix thouſand ſoldiers only, and ſo to make up the quarrel. *Pompey* conſented to this, but *Lentulus* the Conſul would not hearken to it, but drove *Antony* and *Curio* (6) out of the ſenate-houſe with diſgrace; by which they afforded *Cæſar* the faireſt pretence to inflame the ſoldiers, by ſhowing them two perſons of ſuch worth and authority, who were forced to eſcape in a common hired carriage, in the habits of ſlaves; for ſo they diſguiſed themſelves when they fled out of *Rome*. *Cæſar* had not with him at that time above three hundred horſe, and five thouſand foot; for the reſt of his army, which

which was an effectual means to carry a majority in the ſenate.

(6) Inſtead of *Curio* it ſhould be read *Quintus Caſſius*, as appears from what *Plutarch* himſelf ſays in the life of *Antony*, and *Cæſar* in the firſt book of the civil war.

(7) He

which was left on the other ſide of the *Alps*, was to be brought after him by perſons commiſſioned for that purpoſe. But he thought that to begin the deſign which he had then on foot, did not require many forces, and that he ought to take his firſt ſtep ſo ſuddenly, that the adverſe party ſhould be aſtoniſhed at his courage; for he eſteemed it eaſier to aſtoniſh them, if he came unawares, than fairly to conquer them, if he had alarmed them by his preparations. He therefore commanded his captains and other officers, to go only with their ſwords in their hands, without any other arms, and make themſelves maſters of *Ariminum*, a conſiderable city of *Gaul*, with as little noiſe and bloodſhed as poſſible. He committed the care of the army to *Hortenſius*, and ſpent the day in publick, and was a ſpectator of ſome combats of gladiators. A little before night he bathed, and then went into the hall, and converſed for ſome time with thoſe he had invited to ſupper. When it began to grow duſky, he roſe from table, and having complemented the company, he deſired them to ſtay till he came back, which he ſaid, he ſhould do very ſpeedily. He had before this given private orders to ſome of his moſt intimate friends to follow him, not all the ſame way, but ſome one way, ſome another, to avoid obſervation. He himſelf got into a hired carriage, and drove at firſt another way, but on a ſudden turned towards *Ariminum*.

When he was come to the river *Rubicon*, which parts the *Ciſalpine Gaul* from the reſt of *Italy*, his mind began to be in great agitation, now he was juſt entering upon danger; and he wavered much in his reſolution, when he conſidered coolly the difficulty of the attempt. This ſtopt his career for a while, and made him halt. Sometimes he ſtood meditating ſilently in the utmoſt fluctuation and uncertainty, every moment changing his opinion; ſometimes he debated the matter very particularly with his friends who were about him, (of which number *Aſinius Pollio*

lio was one) computing how many calamities his paſſing that river would bring upon mankind, and repreſenting what an account of it would be tranſmitted to poſterity. At laſt, rouſing with a ſudden ſtart of courage, he reſolved to deliberate no more, but to commit himſelf to fortune, uſing the proverb frequently in mouths of thoſe who attempt bold and deſperate enterprizes, *The die is caſt*; with which words he paſſed the river. He then marched with ſuch expedition that before it was day he reached *Ariminum*, and took it. It is ſaid, that the night before he paſſed the river, he had an impious dream, for he dreamed that he committed inceſt with his own mother. As ſoon as *Ariminum* was taken, there was as it were a wide gate opened to war both by ſea and land; for the limits of the provinces being tranſgreſſed, a total ſubverſion of the laws followed. It ſeemed now that not the inhabitants only, as at other times, fled from place to place through fear and conſternation, but that the very towns themſelves left their ſtations, and fled for ſuccour to each other. So that the city of *Rome* was over-run as it were with a deluge, by the conflux of people from all parts round about; and in ſuch a tumult and confuſion it could neither be governed by the authority of its magiſtrates, nor be quieted by eloquence and perſuaſion, but was in danger of ſinking by its own weight; the oppoſition of paſſions and intereſts producing continually the moſt violent commotions. For thoſe who were pleaſed with theſe changes would not remain quiet, but frequently meeting, as in ſo great a city they neceſſarily muſt, with ſuch as ſhowed themſelves fearful and dejected, occaſioned perpetual quarrels by their great confidence and preſumption.

Pompey, though ſufficiently of himſelf diſturbed, was yet more perplexed by the clamours of others; ſome telling him that he juſtly ſuffered for having ſtrengthened *Cæſar*'s power to his own ruin and that of the commonwealth; others blaming him for permitting

mitting *Cæſar* to be inſolently uſed by *Lentulus*, when he made ſo large conceſſions, and offered ſuch reaſonable propoſals towards an accommodation. *Favonius* bad him *now ſtamp upon the ground*; for once boaſting in the ſenate, he deſired them not to trouble themſelves about making any preparations for the war; *for he himſelf, if* Cæſar *ſhould come, would with one ſtamp of his foot fill all* Italy *with ſoldiers.* Yet ſtill *Pompey* had more forces than *Cæſar*; but he was not permitted to purſue his own determination; but being continually alarmed with terrifying and falſe reports, as if the enemy was juſt at the gates and in poſſeſſion of all, he was forced to give way, and was borne down by the common cry. He therefore declaring by an edict the ſtate to be in danger, left the city, commanding the ſenators to follow him, and forbidding any to ſtay behind who would not be thought to prefer tyranny to their country and their liberty. The conſuls preſently fled, without offering the uſual ſacrifices; moſt of the ſenators haſtily carrying off whatever came firſt to hand of their own goods, juſt as if they had been plundering their neighbours. Some, who before were ſtrongly attached to *Cæſar*, were ſo terrified that they quitted their own ſentiments, and without any neceſſity were carried along by the common ſtream. It was a very melancholy view to ſee the city toſt in theſe tumults, like a ſhip whoſe pilot has given her over, and deſpairs of hindering her from ſtriking on the next rock. Thoſe who left the city, though their departure was on ſo ſad an occaſion, yet eſteemed the place of their exile to be their country for *Pompey*'s ſake, and fled from *Rome*, as if it had been *Cæſar*'s camp. At the ſame time *Labienus*, a perſon who had been one of *Cæſar*'s beſt friends, and his lieutenant, and one who had fought under him very bravely in the *Gallic* wars, deſerted him, and went over to *Pompey*. *Cæſar* ſent all his money and equipage after him, and then laid ſiege to *Corfinium*, which was garriſoned with thirty cohorts

cohorts under the command of *Domitius*. He in deſpair ordered a ſlave of his, who was his phyſician, to give him ſome poiſon. The ſlave accordingly gave him a doſe, which he ſwallowed in hopes of being diſpatched by it: But ſoon after, when he was told that *Cæſar* behaved with wonderful clemency towards thoſe he took priſoners, he lamented his misfortune, and blamed the haſtineſs of his own reſolution. But his phyſician encouraged him, by telling him that he had taken a ſleeping, not a poiſonous potion; with this he was very much pleaſed, and riſing from his bed, went preſently over to *Cæſar*, who pardoned him; but he afterwards revolted to *Pompey*.

When theſe things came to be known at *Rome*, the ſpirits of ſuch as remained in the city were wonderfully raiſed, and many of thoſe who had fled returned to their habitations. In the mean time *Cæſar*'s army being thus reinforced by *Domitius*'s ſoldiers, as likewiſe by thoſe *Pompey* had placed in garriſon in the ſeveral towns in thoſe parts, became now ſo ſtrong and formidable, that he advanced againſt *Pompey* himſelf, who did not ſtay for his coming, but fled to *Brunduſium*; and having ſent the Conſuls before with the army to *Dyrrachium*, he ſoon after, upon *Cæſar*'s approach, put to ſea, as ſhall be more particularly mentioned in his life. *Cæſar* would have immediately purſued him, but wanted ſhipping, and therefore went back to *Rome*, having without bloodſhed made himſelf maſter of all *Italy* in the ſpace of ſixty days. When he came thither, he found the city more quiet than he expected, and many ſenators upon the place, to whom he addreſſed himſelf with great courteſy and deference, deſiring them to ſend to *Pompey* to treat of an accommodation upon reaſonable conditions. But no body complied with this propoſal; whether out of fear of *Pompey*, whom they had deſerted, or becauſe they thought *Cæſar* did not mean what he ſaid, but only ſpoke thus to preſerve an appearance of candour and moderation. Afterwards, when

when *Metellus* the tribune would have hindered him from taking money out of the publick treaſury, and quoted ſome laws againſt it, *Cæſar* replied, *Arms and Laws do not well agree; and if you are diſpleaſed with my conduct, retreat quietly, for war will not admit ſuch freedom of ſpeech. When I have laid down my arms, and entered into terms of peace, then come and harangue as you pleaſe: And this I tell you in diminution of my own juſt right, for indeed you are my ſubject, as are all thoſe who have appeared againſt me, and are now in my power.* Having ſaid this to *Metellus*, he went to the doors of the treaſury, and the keys being not to be found, he ſent for ſmiths to force them open. *Metellus* again making reſiſtance, and ſome encouraging him in it, *Cæſar* raiſing his voice, threatened to kill him, if he gave him any farther diſturbance: *And this*, ſaid he, *you know, young man, is harder for me to ſay than to do.* Theſe words made *Metellus* withdraw for fear, and gave *Cæſar* an opportunity of being eaſily and readily ſupplied with all things neceſſary for the war.

Soon after this he marched into *Spain*, with a reſolution firſt to remove *Afranius* and *Varro*, *Pompey*'s lieutenants, and to make himſelf maſter of the army and provinces under them, which when he had done, he thought he then might more ſecurely advance againſt *Pompey*, when he had no enemy left behind him. In this expedition his perſon was often in danger from ambuſcades, and his army from want of proviſions; however he did not deſiſt from purſuing the enemy, provoking them to fight, and beſieging them, till by main force he made himſelf maſter of their camps, and their forces: Only the officers got off, and fled to *Pompey*.

When *Cæſar* came back to *Rome*, *Piſo* his father-in-law adviſed him to ſend meſſengers to *Pompey*, to treat of a peace; but *Iſauricus*, to ingratiate himſelf with

(7) He ſent them back under the conduct of *Calenus*. But he ſailing too late loſt the opportunity of the wind, and fell in with *Bibulus*, who took thirty of his ſhips, upon which he vented his

with *Cæſar*, ſpoke againſt it. *Cæſar* after this being choſen Dictator by the ſenate, immediately called home the exiles, reſtored to their honours and privileges the children of ſuch as had ſuffered under *Sylla*, and eaſed thoſe who were in debt by retrenching ſome part of the intereſt. He alſo made ſome other regulations of the ſame nature, but not many: for within eleven days he reſigned his dictatorſhip, and having declared himſelf Conſul with *Servilius Iſauricus* ſet out to proſecute the war. He marched ſo faſt, that he left all his army behind him, except ſix hundred choſen horſe, and five legions, with which he put to ſea in the very middle of winter, about the beginning of the month *January*, which the *Athenians* call *Poſideon*, and having paſt the *Ionian* ſea took *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, (7) and ſent back the ſhips to *Brunduſium*, to bring over the ſoldiers that were left behind in the march. Theſe ſoldiers, whoſe bodies were enfeebled and whoſe ſpirits were exhauſted by the number of battles they had fought, as they marched along uttered their complaints againſt *Cæſar* after this manner: *When at laſt, and where will* Cæſar *let us be quiet? He carries us from place to place, and uſes us as if we were invulnerable and inſenſible. Even iron itſelf is worn out by blows, and bucklers and breaſt-plates have been ſo long uſed require ſome reſpite. Doth not* Cæſar *gather from our wounds, that we are mortal men whom he commands, and that we are ſubject to the ſame calamities and diſeaſes as other mortals are? It is impoſſible even for a God to force the winter ſeaſon, or to hinder the ſtorms, when they rage; yet he puſhes forward, as if he were not purſuing, but flying from an enemy.* This was their diſcourſe as they marched leiſurely towards *Brunduſium*. But when they came thither, and found that *Cæſar* was gone off before them, they changed their ſentiments, and reproached themſelves

his rage, for he burnt them all with their pilots and ſailors, on purpoſe to intimidate the reſt. *Cæſ. lib.* iii.

(8) This

themſelves as traitors to their general. They now railed at their officers for marching ſo ſlowly, and placing themſelves on the promontories by the ſea-ſide over-againſt *Epirus*, looked out endeavouring to deſcry the veſſels which were to tranſport them to *Cæſar*. He in the mean time was poſted in *Apollonia*, but had not an army with him able to fight the enemy, the forces from *Brunduſium* being ſo long in coming. In this diſtreſs and perplexity he ventured upon a dangerous project, which was to go in a veſſel of twelve oars, without any one's knowledge, to *Brunduſium*, though the ſea was at that time covered with a vaſt fleet of the enemy. He embarked in the night-time in the habit of a ſlave, and throwing himſelf down like ſome inconſiderable perſon, lay along at the bottom of the veſſel. The river (8) *Anius* was to carry them down to the ſea; and there uſed to blow a gentle gale every morning from the land, which made it very calm towards the mouth of the river, by driving the waves forward; but that night there ſprung a ſtrong wind from the ſea, which overpowered that from the land; ſo that by the violence of the ſtream, and the reſiſtance of the ſea againſt it, the river became very rough, the waves daſhing together with a great noiſe, and forming ſuch dangerous eddies, that the pilot could not make good his paſſage, but ordered his ſailors to turn back. *Cæſar* upon this diſcovered himſelf, and taking the pilot by the hand, who was ſurprized to ſee him there, ſaid, *Go on boldly, my friend, and fear nothing; thou carrieſt* Cæſar *and* Cæſar's *fortune along with thee.* The mariners, when they heard that, forgot the ſtorm; and laying all their ſtrength to their oars, did what they could to force their way down the river. But when it was to no purpoſe, and the veſſel now took in much water,

(8) This is a river in *Epire*, *Strabo* calls it *Aous*, and ſays it ran within ten furlongs of *Apollonia*.

(9) *Antony* and *Calenus* embarked on board the veſſels which had eſcaped *Bibulus*, eight hundred horſe, and four legions, that

ter, *Cæſar* finding himſelf in ſo great danger in the very mouth of the river, permitted the maſter, though much againſt his will, to turn back. When he was returned to his camp his ſoldiers ran to him in whole troops, and expreſt how much they were concerned, that he ſhould think himſelf not ſtrong enough to get a victory by their ſole aſſiſtance, but would give himſelf ſo much anxiety and run ſo great a hazard for the ſake of thoſe who were abſent, as if he could not truſt to them who were with him.

Soon after this, (9) *Antony* came over with the forces from *Brunduſium*, which encouraged *Cæſar* to give *Pompey* battle, though he was encamped very advantageouſly, and furniſhed with plenty of proviſions by ſea and land, whilſt he himſelf, who at firſt had been but ill ſtocked, was now at laſt extremely pinched for want of neceſſaries; ſo that his ſoldiers were forced to dig a kind of root which grew there, and tempering it with milk, to feed on it. Sometimes they made loaves of it, and in their incurſions on the enemy's out-guards would throw in thoſe loaves, telling them, that *as long as the earth produced ſuch roots they would not ceaſe to beſiege* Pompey. But *Pompey* took what care he could, that neither the loaves, nor the words, ſhould reach the reſt of his men; for they already were diſheartened at the fierceneſs and hardineſs of their enemies, and looked upon them as partaking of the ſavage nature of wild beaſts. There were continual ſkirmiſhes about *Pompey*'s trenches, in all which *Cæſar* had the better, except one; when his men were forced to fly in ſuch a manner, that he had like to have loſt his camp. For *Pompey* made ſuch a vigorous ſally on them, that not one of them ſtood his ground; the trenches were filled with dead bodies; and many fell upon their own ramparts, being cloſely

that is, three old ones, and one that had been newly raiſed; and when they were landed, *Antony* ſent back the ſhips to tranſport the reſt of the forces that were left behind.

cloſely purſued by the enemy. *Cæſar* met them, and would have turned them back, but could not. When he went to lay hold of the colours, (1) thoſe who carried them threw them down, ſo that the enemies took thirty-two of them. He himſelf narrowly eſcaped with his life; for taking hold of a tall luſty ſoldier that was flying by him, he bid him ſtand, and face about; but the fellow, full of apprehenſions from the danger he was in, began to handle his ſword as if he would ſtrike *Cæſar*; and he would have done it, had not *Cæſar*'s armour-bearer prevented the blow, by chopping off his arm.

Cæſar's affairs were ſo deſperate at that time, that when *Pompey*, either through fear, or his ill fortune, did not give the finiſhing ſtroke to that great action, but retreated after he had ſhut up the enemy within their camp, *Cæſar*, upon his return, ſaid to his friends, *The victory to-day had been on our enemies ſide, if they had had a general who knew how to conquer.* When he was retired into his tent, he laid himſelf down to ſleep; but that night was the moſt melancholy that he ever ſpent; he being perplext and diſtreſſed in his thoughts for his ill conduct in this war: for when he had a large country before him, and all the wealthy cities of *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*, he had neglected to carry the war thither, and had ſat down by the ſea-ſide, whilſt his enemies had ſuch a powerful fleet; ſo that he ſeemed rather to be beſieged with want of neceſſaries, than to beſiege others with his arms. Being thus diſtracted in his thoughts by the view of the ill poſture of his affairs, he raiſed his camp, with a deſign to advance towards *Scipio*, who lay in *Macedonia*; for he hoped either to draw *Pompey* where he muſt fight without the advantage he now had of ſup-plies

(1) What *Plutarch* mentions here did not happen at the time when *Pompey* attacked the entrenchments, but at another attack which *Cæſar* made upon a poſt, where he underſtood that one of *Pompey*'s legions lay. This proved a ſharp engagement; and *Cæſar* was worſted, not ſo much by the valour of the enemy, as the ſeparation

plies from the ſea, or to overpower *Scipio*, who would not be able to withſtand him alone. This animated *Pompey*'s army and officers ſo far, that they were for purſuing *Cæſar*, as one that was worſted and flying. But *Pompey* was afraid to hazard a battle, on which ſo much depended; and being himſelf provided with all neceſſaries for a conſiderable time, he thought to tire out, and waſte the vigour of *Cæſar*'s army, which could not laſt long; for his beſt ſoldiers, though they had much experience, and ſhowed an irreſiſtible courage in all engagements, yet were incapacitated by age to bear the fatigue of their frequent marches, changing their camps, aſſaulting of towns, and long watches; their bodies were become feeble and inactive, and their alacrity failed with their ſtrength. Beſides, it is ſaid, that a peſtilential diſeaſe, occaſioned by their irregular diet, raged in *Cæſar*'s army; and what was of greateſt moment, he was neither furniſhed with money nor proviſions, ſo that in a little time he muſt needs fall of himſelf. For theſe reaſons *Pompey* had no mind to fight him; but he was commended for it by none but *Cato*, who was zealous to preſerve his fellow-citizens. For when he ſaw the dead bodies of thoſe who had fallen in the laſt battle on *Cæſar*'s ſide to the number of a thouſand, he went away, covered his face, and wept. The reſt reproached and teaſed *Pompey* for declining to fight, calling him *Agamemnon* and the King of Kings, to inſinuate that he had no mind to lay down his ſovereign authority, but was pleaſed to ſee ſo many great commanders waiting on him, and paying their attendance at his tent. *Favonius*, who affected *Cato*'s freedom of ſpeech, complained bitterly, that they ſhould eat no figs that year at *Tuſculum*, becauſe of *Pompey*'s ambition.

ſeparation of his own troops, the diſadvantage of the place, and the diſorder among his ſoldiers. He ſays himſelf, that in theſe two attacks he loſt nine hundred and ſixty foot and four hundred horſe, among whom were ſeveral *Roman* knights, and thirty tribunes and centurions. *Lib.* iii.

ambition. *Afranius*, who was lately returned out of *Spain*, and by reaſon of the ill campaign he had made, was ſuſpected by *Pompey* to have betrayed the army for money, aſked him, *Why he did not fight that merchant, who had bought his provinces?* *Pompey* was compelled by this kind of language to give *Cæſar* battle, though againſt his own ſentiments, and in order to it purſued him.

Cæſar had found great difficulties in his march; for no country would ſupply him with proviſions, his reputation being very much ſunk ſince his laſt defeat. But when he had taken (2) *Gomphi*, a town of *Theſſaly*, by aſſault, his ſoldiers not only found proviſions, but alſo a very ſingular remedy for their diſtempers. For meeting there with plenty of wine they drank freely of it, and indulged themſelves afterwards in revelling and rioting as they marched along; and this high living ſo altered their whole habit of body, that they were delivered from the maladies which had hitherto oppreſſed them.

When the two armies came into *Pharſalia*, and were encamped there, *Pompey* returned to his former ſentiments, and the rather becauſe he had had a dream which ſeemed a very unfavourable preſage (3). His friends however were very confident of ſucceſs, and anticipated the victory in their imaginations, ſo that (4) *Domitius*, *Spinther*, and *Scipio*, quarrelled which ſhould ſucceed *Cæſar* in the pontificate: and many ſent to *Rome* to take houſes fit to accommodate Conſuls and Prætors, as being ſure of entering upon thoſe offices as ſoon as the battle was over. The cavalry eſpecially

(2) *Androphenus*, or *Androſthenes* commanded in the place. *Cæſar*, who ſaw how material it was to his ſervice to make himſelf maſter of it before *Pompey* or *Scipio* could come up to relieve it, was no ſooner arrived but he attacked it on every ſide at once. The aſſault began about three in the afternoon, and though the walls were very high he carried it before ſun ſet.

(3) See the life of *Pompey*, p. 200.

(4) *Cæſar* has put this conteſt in a very ridiculous light, as may be ſeen in the Remarks upon

eſpecially were eager to fight, priding themſelves on the ſplendor of their arms, the good condition of their horſes, the comelineſs of their perſons, and the ſuperiority of their number, for they were ſeven thouſand againſt one thouſand of *Cæſar*'s. Nor was their infantry better matched, there being forty-five thouſand of *Pompey*'s againſt twenty-two thouſand of the enemy. *Cæſar* aſſembled his ſoldiers, and told them that *Cornificius was coming up to them with two legions, and that fifteen cohorts more under* Calenus *were poſted at* Megara *and* Athens; he aſked them, *whether they would ſtay till they joined them, or would hazard the battle by themſelves.* They all beſought him not to delay, but to contrive if poſſible to entice the enemy to an engagement. When he was ſacrificing for the luſtration of his army, upon the death of the firſt victim the Augur told him, that within three days he ſhould come to a deciſive action. *Cæſar* aſked him, *Whether he ſaw any thing in the entrails, which promiſed an happy event? That,* ſaid the prieſt, *you can beſt anſwer yourſelf; for the Gods ſignify a great alteration in the preſent poſture of affairs; if therefore you think yourſelf happy now, expect worſe fortune; if unhappy, hope for better.* The night before the battle, as he walked the rounds about midnight, he ſaw a light in the air reſembling a torch flaming with great brightneſs, which ſeemed to paſs over his camp, and fall into *Pompey*'s; and when *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers came to relieve the watch in the morning, they perceived a panick tumult among the enemies, (5) However we was ſo far from expecting to fight that day that he gave the ſignal

upon the life of *Pompey*. Their thoughts ran not ſo much upon conquering, as on the manner of ſharing and enjoying the fruits of their conquelts.

(5) *Cæſar* perceiving there was no attacking *Pompey*, who was commodiouſly poſted on the higher ground, without great diſadvantage, and deſpairing to draw him to an engagement, thought it moſt convenient to remove, hoping by his frequent decampings to provide better for his troops, and harraſs his enemies, and perhaps obtain a favourable opportunity of fighting, which indeed happened ſooner

ſignal for decamping, and deſigned to march towards *Scotuſa*. But when the tents were taken down, his ſcouts rode up to him, and told him the enemy were coming down in order to give him battle. With this he was very much pleaſed, and having performed his devotions to the Gods, he drew up his army, dividing it into three bodies. *Domitius Calvinus* commanded the center, *Antony* the left wing, and he himſelf the right, being reſolved to fight at the head of the tenth legion. But when he ſaw the enemy's cavalry drawn up againſt him, being ſtruck with their number and magnificent appearance, he gave orders that ſix cohorts from the rear of the army ſhould ſecretly advance to him; theſe he poſted behind the right wing, and inſtructed them what they ſhould do, when the enemy's horſe came to charge. On the other ſide, (6) *Pompey* commanded the right wing, *Domitius* the left, and *Scipio*, *Pompey*'s father-in-law, the main body. The whole weight of the cavalry was in the left wing, for they deſigned to encompaſs the right of the enemy, and preſs that part moſt which the General himſelf commanded, thinking that no body of foot could be ſo deep as to bear ſuch a ſhock, but that they muſt neceſſarily be broken to pieces upon the firſt impreſſion of ſo ſtrong a body of cavalry. When they were ready on both ſides to give the ſignal for battle, *Pompey* commanded his foot who were in the front to ſtand their ground, and without breaking their order, receive quietly the enemy's firſt attack, till they came within javelin's caſt. *Cæſar* blamed this conduct, and ſaid, *Pompey* was not aware

ſooner than he expected, for they had hardly ſtruck their tents when they obſerved *Pompey* marching out of his entrenchments.

(6) *Cæſar* tells us the quite contrary; he ſays *Pompey* was on the left. Pompey *was on the left wing with the two legions ſent back to him by* Cæſar. *On the right was poſted the legion of* Cilicia *with the cohorts brought by* Afranius *out of* Spain, *which he eſteemed the flower of his army*; Scipio *commanded the main body which was compoſed of the* Syrian *legions*. He does not name the officer who had the command on the

aware that the first charge, if it is brisk and fierce, gives weight to every stroke, and inflames the courage of the soldiers, the resolution of each being animated and encreased by the rapid motion of the whole army. He was now advancing with his forces, and just ready to engage, when he found one of his captains, a trusty and experienced soldier, encouraging his men to exert themselves to the utmost. *Cæsar* called him by his name, and said, *What hopes*, Caius Crassinius? *How stands our courage?* *Crassinius* stretched out his hand, and cried with a loud voice, *We shall conquer nobly*, Cæsar, *and this day I will deserve your praises either alive or dead.* With these words he immediately ran in upon the enemy at the head of his company, consisting of a hundred and twenty men, where he did great execution, and was still pressing forwards and forcing his way, when he received a wound in his mouth from a sword pushed with such force that the point came out at the nape of his neck.

Whilst the foot was thus engaged in the main battle, *Pompey*'s horse advanced from the left wing with great confidence of success, and opened their ranks very wide, that they might surround the right wing of *Cæsar*: (7) But before they could engage, the six cohorts which *Cæsar* had posted in the rear, made up to them, and did not dart their javelins at a distance, nor strike at their thighs and legs as they used to do in close engagement, but aimed at their faces; for thus *Cæsar* had instructed them, in hopes that those gay

the right, unless he would have it understood to be *Afranius*.

(7) What *Plutarch* tells us here that the six cohorts of *Cæsar* fell upon *Pompey*'s horse without giving them time to engage, is contradicted by *Cæsar* himself, who says, that they engaged his right wing and obliged his cavalry to give ground. *Eodem tempore Equites a sinistro Pompeii Cornu ut erat imperatum, universi procurrerunt, omnisque multitudo Sagittariorum se profudit; quorum impetum noster Equitatus non tulit, sed Paulum loco motus cessit, &c.* lib. iii. de bel. civil.

gay young men who were in the flower of their age and height of their beauty, and who had not been uſed to battles and wounds, would not ſtand an attack of this kind, nor bear at the ſame time the ſhock of the preſent danger, and the apprehenſion of future deformity. This deſign ſucceeded; for they were ſo far from bearing the ſtrokes of the javelins, that they could not ſtand the ſight of them, but turned about, and covered their faces to ſave them. Having thus broke their ranks they fled away in great confuſion, by which they occaſioned the ruin of the whole army; for thoſe cohorts, as ſoon as they had broke and diſperſed them, immediately ſurrounded the infantry, and charging them in the rear ſoon cut them to pieces.

Pompey, who commanded the other wing of the army, when he ſaw his cavalry thus broken and flying, was no longer himſelf, nor did he now remember that he was *Pompey the Great*; but like one whom the Gods had deprived of his ſenſes, and ſtruck with ſome fatal blow, he retired to his tent without ſpeaking a word, and there ſat ſtill, expecting the event, till the whole army was defeated, and the enemy appeared upon the ramparts, where they cloſely engaged with his men who were poſted there to defend them. Then he firſt ſeemed to have recovered his ſenſes, and cried out, *What, into my camp too?* and without ſaying any thing more, he laid aſide his General's habit, and putting on ſuch cloaths as might beſt favour his flight, privately made his eſcape. What fortune he met with afterwards, how he went for ſhelter to *Egypt*, and was murdered there, we ſhall particularly relate in his life.

Cæſar, when he came to view *Pompey*'s camp, and ſaw ſo many of his enemies dead upon the ground, and others dying, ſaid with a ſigh, *This they would have*

(8) *Cæſar* ſays there fell about fifteen thouſand of the enemy, and that he took above twenty-four thouſand priſoners; that he took eight eagles, and a hundred and eighty ſtandards; and that

have; to this neceſſity they reduced me; and Caius Cæſar *after ſo many important victories obtained, would have been judged and condemned as a criminal, had he diſbanded his army.* *Aſinius Pollio* ſays, that *Cæſar* ſpoke thoſe words then in *Latin*, which he afterwards wrote in *Greek*; that thoſe who were killed at the taking of the camp, were moſt of them ſlaves; and that in the battle (8) there fell not above ſix thouſand ſoldiers. *Cæſar* incorporated moſt of the foot whom he took priſoners, in his own legions, and pardoned ſeveral perſons of quality, and amongſt the reſt *Brutus*, who afterwards killed him. *Brutus* did not immediately appear after the battle was over, which gave *Cæſar* great uneaſineſs; but he was extremely pleaſed when he ſaw him ſafe, ſurrendering himſelf to him. There were many prodigies that foretold this victory; but the moſt ſignal was that at *Tralles*. In the temple of Victory there was a ſtatue of *Cæſar*; the ſoil on which the temple ſtood was naturally hard and dry, and the pavement was of very hard ſtone; yet it is ſaid that a palm-tree ſhot up near the pedeſtal of this ſtatue. In the city of *Padua*, one *Caius Cornelius*, a man well ſkilled in divination, and a fellow-citizen and friend of *Livy* the hiſtorian, happened to be making ſome obſervations on the flight of birds that very day when the battle was fought: and firſt, he pointed out the exact time of the battle, and ſaid to thoſe who were by him, *Now the conteſt is approaching to its deciſion, and the men are engaged.* When he looked a ſecond time upon the birds, and obſerved the omens, he leaped as if he had been inſpired, and cried out, *Thou*, Cæſar, *art the conqueror.* This greatly ſurprized the ſtanders-by; but he took the crown which he had on, from his head, and ſwore *he would never wear it again till the event ſhould give authority to his art.* This *Livy* affirms for a truth.

Cæſar, as a monument of his victory, gave the *Theſſalians*

that on his ſide the loſs amounted to no more than about two hundred ſoldiers, and thirty centurions.

(9) But

Theſſalians their liberty, and then went in purſuit of *Pompey*. When he was arrived in *Aſia*, to gratify *Theopompus*, who had made a collection of Fables, he enfranchiſed the *Cnidians* his countrymen, and remitted one third of the taxes to all the *Aſiatics*. When he came to *Alexandria*, where *Pompey* was already murdered, he turned from *Theodotus*, who preſented him with his head, but took his ſignet and wept over it. Thoſe of *Pompey*'s friends who had been taken by the King of *Egypt* as they were ſtraggling in thoſe parts, he treated with great kindneſs and brought over to his intereſt. He wrote letters to *Rome*, wherein he ſignified to his friends, that *the greateſt advantage and pleaſure he found by the victory was, that he every day ſaved the lives of ſome* Romans, *who had been in arms againſt him*. As to the war in *Egypt*, ſome ſay it was dangerous and diſhonourable, and not at all neceſſary, but occaſioned only by his paſſion for *Cleopatra*: others blamed the miniſters, and eſpecially the eunuch *Photinus*, who was the King's chief favourite, who had lately put *Pompey* to death, and baniſhed *Cleopatra*, and was now contriving privately the deſtruction of *Cæſar*; to prevent which, *Cæſar* from that time began to ſit up whole nights under pretence of drinking, for the greater ſecurity of his perſon. It is certain, that he was intolerably and openly inſolent to *Cæſar*, both in his words and actions; for when *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers had muſty and unwholſome corn meaſured out to them, *Photinus* told them, they muſt take it, and be contented, ſince they were fed at another's coſt. He ordered that the King's table ſhould be ſerved with wooden and earthen diſhes, and ſaid, *Cæſar* had all the gold and ſilver in pawn for a debt. For the preſent King's father owed *Cæſar* ſeventeen millions five hundred thouſand *Drachmas*. *Cæſar* had formerly remitted to his children

(9) But he was in more imminent danger before that, when he was attacked in the palace by *Achillas*, who had made himſelf maſter of *Alexandria*. *Cæſar* gives us a deſcription of this

dren the reſt, but thought fit to demand the ten millions at that time, to maintain his army. *Photinus* adviſed him to go away for the preſent and take care of his more important affairs, telling him that when he had finiſhed them he might return, and would receive the money with thanks beſides. *Cæſar* replied, that *he did not want* Egyptians *to be his counſellors*, and ſoon after privately ſent for *Cleopatra* from her retirement. That Princeſs accompanied only with *Apollodorus* the *Sicilian* got into a little ſkiff, and in the duſk of the evening landed near the palace. When ſhe found it would be almoſt impoſſible to get in without being diſcovered, ſhe bethought herſelf of this ſtratagem: ſhe rolled herſelf up in a carpet, where ſhe lay at her full length, and *Apollodorus*, having tied it faſt round, carried it on his back through the caſtle-gates to *Cæſar*'s apartment. *Cæſar* was firſt ſtruck with this contrivance of *Cleopatra*, which was an argument of her wit; and he was afterwards ſo charmed with her converſation and graceful behaviour, that he reconciled her to her brother, and made her partner in the government. A feſtival was kept for joy of this reconciliation; and *Cæſar*'s barber, a fellow whoſe exceſſive fear made him ever upon the watch, ſo that he was continually prying into all corners of the court, and liſtening with reſtleſs curioſity and anxiety after every thing that paſſed there, diſcovered that a plot was carrying on againſt *Cæſar* by *Achillas*, General of the King's forces, and *Photinus* the eunuch. *Cæſar* upon the firſt intelligence of it ſet a guard upon the hall where the feaſt was kept, and killed *Photinus*. *Achillas* eſcaped to the army, and raiſed a very dangerous war againſt *Cæſar*, who had enough to do to defend himſelf with a very ſmall force againſt a ſtrong city on the one hand, and a powerful army on the other. (9) The firſt difficulty he met with, was want

(9) this action towards the latter end of the third book of the civil wars.

(1) *Alex-*

want of water (1); for the enemies had turned the pipes. Another was, the loſs of his fleet, which he was forced to burn himſelf, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands; and the flames unluckily ſpread ſo far as to deſtroy the famous library of *Alexandria*. (2) A third was, that in an engagement near *Pharos* he leaped from the mole into a ſkiff, to aſſiſt his ſoldiers who were in danger: when the *Egyptians* preſſed him on every ſide, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and with much difficulty ſwam off. It is ſaid that at the time when he flung himſelf into the ſea he had many papers in his hand, which, though he was continually darted at, and forced to keep his head often under water, yet he did not let go, but held them up ſafe from wetting in one hand, whilſt he ſwam with the other. In the mean time his ſkiff, which he had juſt quitted, ſunk with all that were on board. At laſt the King having joined *Achillas* and his party, *Cæſar* engaged and conquered them; many fell in that battle, and the King himſelf was never ſeen afterwards.

Upon this, (3) he made *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, who ſoon after had a ſon by him, whom the *Alexandrians* called *Cæſario*; and then he departed for *Syria*. Thence he paſſed into *Aſia*, where he heard that *Domitius*

(1) *Alexandria* was vaulted underneath, and full of aqueducts, wherein they received the water from the *Nile*, and from thence conveyed it to the houſes of the inhabitants, who kept it in reſervoirs and ciſterns, where it grew fine, and became fit for uſe. The maſters of thoſe houſes and their families drank of that water, but the common people were forced to drink the running water, which was foul and unhealthy, for there were no ſprings or fountains in the city. As the river was in the power of the enemy, they reſolved to cut the water off from *Cæſar*: to this end they ſtopped up all the conduits through which it was conveyed into that part of the town which was in his poſſeſſion; and not content with that they were at the pains by the help of wheels and machines to raiſe the ſea-water, and poured it down upon *Cæſar*'s reſervoirs and ciſterns. This diſtreſſed them very much at firſt, but they ſoon found out a remedy; for *Cæſar* ordered them to dig for wells, and they went ſo

mitius Calvinus, whom he had appointed Governor of *Aſia Minor*, was overthrown by *Pharnaces*, ſon of *Mithridates*, and forced to fly out of *Pontus* with an handful of men; and that *Pharnaces* purſued the victory ſo eagerly, that he was already maſter of *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, and was preparing to invade *Armenia* the leſs; in order to which he invited all the kings aud tetrarchs in thoſe parts to riſe, and unite againſt the *Romans*. *Cæſar* immediately marched againſt him with three legions, fought him near (4) *Zella*, drove him out of *Pontus*, and totally deſtroyed his army. When he gave *Amintius*, a friend of his at *Rome*, an account of this action, to expreſs the quickneſs and diſpatch of it, he uſed theſe words, *I came, I ſaw, I conquered*; which in *Latin* being expreſſed by three words only all of the ſame form and termination, have a gracefulneſs and brevity not eaſily to be imitated in another language. Hence he ſet out for *Italy*, and came to *Rome* at the end of that year for which he had been a ſecond time choſen Dictator, (though that office had never before been annual) and was elected Conſul for the next. However he was very much condemned, becauſe when ſome of his ſoldiers had in a mutiny killed *Coſconius* and *Galba*, who had been prætors, he puniſhed them no otherwiſe

ſo chearfully about it, laying aſide all other buſineſs, that in a night's time they met with a ſufficient quantity of freſh water, which rendered all the pains the enemy had been at ineffectual. *Cæſ. Bell. Alex.*

(2) *Plutarch* in this place confounds facts, which deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed, and related particularly. At firſt there was a general naval engagement. After this *Cæſar* attacked the iſland, and laſt of all the mole, and it was in this attack *Cæſar* was under the difficulty mentioned here by *Plutarch*.

(3) *Cæſar* did not confer the crown of *Egypt* on *Cleopatra* ſolely, but divided it between her, and her younger brother, according to her father's proviſion in his laſt will, of which the *Romans* were made executors.

(4) The deſcription of this battle is well worth reading, as it is related by *Cæſar*, who deſcribes the temerity of *Pharnaces* in its proper colours.

(5) But

otherwiſe than by calling them *Citizens*, inſtead of *Fellow-ſoldiers* (5), and likewiſe gave each man a thouſand drachmas, beſide a ſhare of ſome lands in *Italy*. He was alſo reflected on for *Dolabella*'s extravagance, *Amintius*'s covetouſneſs, *Antony*'s debauchery, (6) and the profuſeneſs of *Cornificius*, who having got poſſeſſion of *Pompey*'s houſe pulled it down, and rebuilt it, becauſe he thought it not magnificent enough for him. Theſe things highly diſguſted the *Romans*; but though *Cæſar* was not ignorant of them nor at all approved them, his political views obliged him to make uſe of ſuch inſtruments.

After the battle of *Pharſalia*, *Cato* and *Scipio* fled into *Africa*, and there, with the aſſiſtance of King *Juba*, got together a conſiderable force, which *Cæſar* reſolved to engage. In order to it, he paſſed into *Sicily* in the very midſt of winter; and to deprive his officers of all hopes of delay there, he encamped cloſe by the ſea-ſide, and as ſoon as ever he had a fair wind put to ſea with three thouſand foot, and a few horſe (7). When he had landed them he went back privately under great apprehenſions for the reſt of his army; but he met them upon the ſea, and brought them all to his camp. There he was informed, that the enemy relied much upon an ancient Oracle which declared that *the family of the* Scipios *ſhould be always victorious in* Africa. There was in his army a man, otherwiſe mean and contemptible, but of the houſe of the *Africani*, whoſe name was *Scipio Salutio*: this man *Cæſar* put at the head of his army in every encounter, with the title of General. It is difficult to determine whether he did this merely to ridicule *Scipio*, who commanded the enemy, or with a ſerious intention

(5) But by this appellation they were caſhiered from the ſervice.

(6) *Xylander* and *Cruſerius* are with good reaſon of opinion that there is a tranſpoſition in *Plutarch*'s text, and that it ought to be read *the profuſeneſs of* Cornificius, *and* Anthony's *debauchery, who having*, &c. For it was not *Cornificius*, but *Anthony*, who got the forfeiture of *Pompey*'s houſe, where he ſpent his time in a continued

intention to make the prediction favourable to himſelf. He was obliged often to ſet upon the enemy, and ſkirmiſh with them; for he wanted both victuals for his men, and forage for the horſes. So that he was forced to feed them with a ſea-weed, having waſhed it to take off its ſaltneſs, and mixed it with graſs to give it a more agreeable taſte. He was forced to make this ſhift, becauſe the *Numidians*, in great numbers, and well mounted, commanded the whole country.

Cæſar's cavalry being one day unemployed diverted themſelves with ſeeing an *African*, who entertained them with a dance, and played upon the pipe to admiration: they were ſo taken with this, that they alighted, and gave their horſes to their ſervants, when on a ſudden the enemy ſurrounded them, killed ſome, purſued the reſt, and fell in with them into their camp; and had not *Cæſar* himſelf and *Aſinius Pollio* came in to their aſſiſtance, and put a ſtop to their flight, the war had been then at an end. In another engagement, where the enemy had the advantage, *Cæſar* took an enſign, who was running away, by the neck, and forcing him to face about, ſaid, *Look, there is the enemy!* *Scipio* fluſhed with this ſucceſs at firſt, had a mind to come to one deciſive action: wherefore leaving *Afranius* and *Juba* in their two ſeparate camps not far diſtant, he marched himſelf towards *Thapſus*, where he built a fort above the lake, which he deſigned as a place of ſecurity and retreat to them when they came to an engagement. Whilſt *Scipio* was thus employing himſelf, *Cæſar* with incredible diſpatch made his way through thick woods to ſome paſſages which were left unguarded, and coming ſuddenly

continued courſe of debauchery, as is evident from the ſecond philipick of *Cicero*, and even from *Plutarch* himſelf in ſome paſſages in the life of *Anthony*.

(7) *Hirtius* ſays that he embarked ſix legions and two thouſand horſe. But he landed at firſt with only three thouſand foot and an hundred and fifty horſe, the ſhips which carried the reſt of his army having been ſeparated by contrary winds.

(8) How

denly upon him, attacked one part of his army in the rear, and another in the front, and put them all to flight; then improving his opportunity and the favour of fortune, he in a moment took *Afranius*'s camp, and deſtroyed that of the *Numidians*, *Juba*, their King, being glad to ſave himſelf by flight; ſo that in a ſmall part of a day he made himſelf maſter of three camps, and killed fifty thouſand of the enemy, with the loſs only of fifty men. This is the account ſome give of that fight: others ſay, he was not in the action, but that he was taken with his uſual diſtemper juſt as he was drawing up his army. He perceived the approaches of it, before it had too far diſordered his ſenſes; and as ſoon as he began to ſhake, he was removed into a neighbouring fort, where he repoſed himſelf.

Of the great men who had been conſuls or prætors, and who were taken after the fight, ſome were put to death by *Cæſar*, others killed themſelves. *Cato* had undertaken to defend *Utica*, and for that reaſon was not in the battle. The deſire which *Cæſar* had to take him alive, made him haſten thither. Upon notice that he had killed himſelf, it is certain that *Cæſar* was much diſcompoſed, but for what reaſon is not ſo well agreed: yet this he ſaid, Cato, *I envy thee thy death, becauſe thou enviedſt me the honour of ſaving thy life.* Yet after all this, the diſcourſe he wrote againſt *Cato* after his death, is no great proof of his kindneſs, or of an inclination to ſhow him any favour. For is it probable that he would have been tender of his life, who was ſo bitter againſt his memory? Yet from his clemency to *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and many others who had engaged againſt him, ſome have gueſſed that *Cæſar*'s book was not compoſed ſo much out of hatred to *Cato*, as from a political pique and

(8) How comes *Plutarch* to take notice only of three triumphs, ſince it is certain he had four? Nay he omits the moſt conſiderable and important of them all, his triumph over the *Gauls*. *Triumphavit poſt devictum Scipionem quater eodem menſe, ſed inter-*

and ambition. *Cicero*, it ſeems, had written an encomium upon *Cato*, and called it by his name; and a diſcourſe written by ſo great an orator, upon ſo excellent a ſubject, was, as it is natural to ſuppoſe, very generally and eagerly read. This touched *Cæſar* to the quick; for he looked upon a panegyrick on his enemy, who choſe rather to kill himſelf than fall into his hands, as a ſatire againſt himſelf; and therefore he publiſhed an anſwer to it, containing a collection of accuſations againſt that great man, and called the book *Anticato*. Thoſe diſcourſes have to this day each of them their ſeveral admirers, as men are differently inclined to the party of one or the other.

Cæſar upon his return to *Rome* gave the people a magnificent account of his victory, telling them, that he had ſubdued a country, which would ſupply the publick every year with two hundred thouſand *Attick Medimni* of corn, and three million pounds of oil. He was allowed (8) three triumphs, one for *Egypt*, another for *Pontus*, and a third for *Africa*. In the title of the laſt no mention was made of *Scipio*, but only of *Juba*, whoſe little ſon was then led in triumph, and whoſe captivity proved exceedingly fortunate to him, for of a barbarous *Numidian*, he came by this means to be reckoned in the number of the moſt learned *Greek* hiſtorians. After theſe triumphs, he diſtributed rewards to his ſoldiers, and treated the people with magnificent feaſts and ſhows. At one of theſe feaſts he had twenty-two thouſand tables; and he entertained the people with combats of gladiators and ſea-fights in honour of his daughter *Julia*, long ſince dead. When thoſe ſhows were over, an account was taken of the citizens, (9) who from three hundred and twenty thouſand were now reduced to an hundred and fifty thouſand. So great a waſte had the

interjectis Diebus. Primum, & excellentiſſimum triumphum egit Gallicum, ſequentem Alexandrinum, deinde Ponticum, proximum Africanum. Sueton.

(9) There are no leſs than three conſiderable faults in this ſingle paſſage, as *Rualdus* has obſerved;

the civil war made in *Rome* alone, not to mention what the other parts of *Italy* and the provinces had ſuffered.

He was now choſen a fourth time Conſul, and went into *Spain* againſt *Pompey*'s ſons; they were but young, yet they had got together a very great army, and ſhowed they had courage and conduct to command it, ſo that *Cæſar* was in extreme danger. The great deciſive battle was fought near the city of *Munda*, in which *Cæſar* ſeeing his men hard preſſed, and making but a weak reſiſtance, ran through the ranks among the ſoldiers, crying out to them, *Are you not aſhamed to deliver your General into the hands of boys?* At laſt, with great difficulty, and by exerting the utmoſt reſolution, he forced back the enemy, killing thirty thouſand of them upon the ſpot, though with the loſs of a thouſand of his beſt men. When he came back from the fight, he told his friends, *That he had often fought for victory, but this was the firſt time that he had ever fought for life.* This battle was won on the day of the *Liberalia*, or feſtival of *Bacchus* (1), the ſame day on which *Pompey*, four years before, had ſet out for the war. The younger of *Pompey*'s ſons eſcaped, and *Didius* ſome days after the fight brought the head of the elder to *Cæſar*. This was the laſt battle

obſerved. The firſt is where it is ſaid that *Cæſar* took an account of the people. *Suetonius* ſays not a word of it, and *Auguſtus* himſelf in the *Marmora Ancyrana* ſays, *that in his ſixth Conſulſhip*, that is in the year of *Rome* 725, *he numbered the people, which had not been done for forty-two years before.* The ſecond is, that before the civil war broke out between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, the number of the citizens amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thouſand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increaſe. The laſt is, where it is aſſerted that in leſs than three years thoſe three hundred and twenty thouſand citizens were reduced by that war to one hundred and fifty thouſand; the falſity of which aſſertion is evident from this, that in a little while after *Cæſar* made a draught of fourſcore thouſand to be ſent to the foreign colonies. But what is ſtill ſtronger is, that *Auguſtus* eighteen years after, that is in his ſixth Conſulſhip, took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and ſixty-

battle he was engaged in; and his triumphal entry on account of this victory diſpleaſed the *Romans* beyond any thing he had done before; for he did not triumph on the account of having defeated foreign generals, and barbarous kings, but for having ruined the children and family of one of the greateſt, though moſt unfortunate of all the *Romans*; and it was not well done to triumph over the calamities of his country, and to rejoice for an advantage which he ought rather to have deplored, and for which the only apology that could be made to the Gods or men, was that he was abſolutely compelled to it by neceſſity. But what made this triumph ſtill more diſpleaſing was, that he never before ſent a letter or expreſs on account of any victory he had obtained in the courſe of the civil war, but ſeemed rather to be aſhamed of the action than to claim any glory from it. But notwithſtanding this, the *Romans* ſubmitting to his fortune, gave the reins into his hands, and hoping that the government of a ſingle perſon would give them time to breath after ſo many civil wars and calamities, made him Dictator for life. This was a complete tyranny; for his power now was not only abſolute, but perpetual too. *Cicero* propoſed to the ſenate to confer ſuch honours upon him as were indeed in

ſixty-three thouſand. *Cenſere civium Romanorum capita quadragies centum millia, & ſexaginta tria millia.* Such an augmentation in ſo ſhort a ſpace muſt be prodigious, if not impoſſible. *Rualdus* has not only diſcovered theſe errors in the text, but the ſource of them; he has made it appear that *Plutarch*, for want of a thorough underſtanding of the *Latin* tongue, was miſled by the following paſſage in *Suetonius*, who ſays of *Cæſar*, cap. iv. *Recenſum populi nec more nec loco ſolito, ſed vicatim per dominos inſularum egit, atque ex viginti trecentiſque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico, ad centum quinquaginta retraxit.* *Suetonius* ſpeaks there of the review taken by *Cæſar* of the needy citizens, who ſhared in the publick corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thouſand, and reduced to one hundred and fifty thouſand; and *Plutarch* has miſtaken *recenſum* for *cenſum*, and this error has led him into the other miſtakes.

(1) The ſeventeenth of *March*.

in ſome meaſure within the bounds of modeſty: others ſtriving which ſhould deſerve moſt, carried them to ſo exceſſive a height, that they made *Cæſar* odious even to the moſt moderate ſort of men, by the haughtineſs and extravagance of thoſe titles which they decreed him. His enemies are thought to have had ſome ſhare in this, as well as his flatterers: it gave them more advantage againſt him, and laid him more open to their accuſations; for ſince the civil wars were ended, he gave no other cauſe of complaint. And they had good reaſon to decree a temple to *Clemency*, in token of their gratitude for the mild uſe he made of his victories; for he not only pardoned many of thoſe who fought againſt him, but to ſome he gave honours and offices; as particularly to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who were both of them made Prætors. *Pompey*'s images that were thrown down, he ſet up again; upon which *Cicero* ſaid, that *by raiſing* Pompey's *ſtatues he had fixed his own.* When his friends adviſed him to have a guard, and ſeveral offered him their ſervice, he would not hear of it, but ſaid, *It was better to ſuffer death once, than always to live in fear of it.* He looked upon the affections of the people to be the beſt and ſureſt guard, and therefore entertained them again with publick feaſts, and made diſtributions of corn; and to gratify his army, he ſent out many colonies to ſeveral places, of which the moſt remarkable were *Carthage* and *Corinth*; ſo that theſe two cities which had formerly been deſtroyed at the ſame time (2), were now at the ſame time rebuilt and repeopled. As to the nobles, he promiſed ſome that they ſhould be Conſuls or Prætors; others he recompenſed and ſatisfied with other offices or titles; and to all he gave hopes of his favour, being

(2) They had both been taken, and deſtroyed a hundred and two years before, *Carthage* by the laſt *Scipio Africanus*, and *Corinth* by *Mummius Achaicus*.

(3) There was no end of *Cicero*'s jeſts upon that occaſion. Sometimes he ſaid, *We have a very vigilant Conſul, for he has not ſhut his eyes one moment ſince he entered*

being deſirous that their ſubmiſſion ſhould be chearful and voluntary. And when the Conſul *Fabius Maximus* happened to die on the very day before the expiration of his office, he named *Caninius Rebilius* to be Conſul for the remaining day. When many perſons went according to cuſtom to pay their compliments to the new Conſul, *Cicero* ſaid, by way of raillery, *Let us make haſte, leſt the man be gone out of his office before we come* (3).

Cæſar was ſo formed by nature for great actions, and had ſuch an unbounded ambition, that his paſt exploits were ſo far from inclining him to ſit down and enjoy in peace the glory he derived from them, that they ſerved only to ſtimulate him to ſtill greater attempts, and to make him keener in the purſuit of freſh honours, as if thoſe he had already obtained were withered and decayed. This violent paſſion was a ſort of jealouſy and emulation in himſelf againſt himſelf, an obſtinate perſeverance and endeavour to outvy his paſt actions by his future. In purſuit of theſe thoughts, he had reſolved, and was preparing to make war upon the *Parthians*, and when he had ſubdued them to paſs through *Hyrcania*, by the *Caſpian* ſea, and then by the *Euxine* ſea to mount *Caucaſus*, till he came into *Scythia*; after that to over-run all the countries about *Germany*, and *Germany* itſelf; and at laſt to return through *Gaul* into *Italy*; thus deſcribing the ſpacious circle of his intended empire, and bounding it on every ſide by the ocean. While preparations were making for this expedition, he attempted to dig through the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, and committed the care of that work to *Anienus*. He deſigned alſo to convey the *Tiber* by a deep channel directly from *Rome* to *Circæi*, and ſo into the ſea near *Tarracina*, that there

entered into his office. At another, *This Conſul of ours is a magiſtrate of ſuch ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, that not a perſon among us has dined, ſupped, or ſlept during his Conſulſhip.* And at another time, Caninius *is come to that paſs as to aſk under what Conſuls he was Conſul.*

there might be a ſafe and eaſy paſſage for all merchants who traded to *Rome*. Beſides this, he intended to drain all the marſhes by *Pomentium* and *Setia*, by which ground enough would be gained from the water to employ many thouſands of men in tillage. He propoſed further to make great mounds on the ſhore nigheſt to *Rome*, to hinder the ſea from breaking in upon the land; to cleanſe the *Oſtian* ſhore of ſuch hidden ſhelves and rocks as made it unſafe for ſhipping, and to build ports and harbours fit to receive the great number of veſſels which came thither. Theſe things were deſigned without taking effect.

But his reformation of the kalendar, in order to rectify (4) the irregularity of time, was not only ingeniouſly contrived, but brought to perfection by him, and proved of very great uſe. For it was not only in ancient times that the *Romans* wanted a certain rule to make the revolutions of their months fall in with the courſe of the year, whereby their feſtivals and ſolemn days for ſacrifice were removed by little and little, till at laſt they came to fall in with ſeaſons quite oppoſite to thoſe of their primitive inſtitution; but even in *Cæſar*'s days, the people had no way of computing rightly the courſe of the ſun; the prieſts alone had any ſkill in this matter, and often unexpectedly added an intercalary month, which they called *Mercedonius*. *Numa* was the firſt who inſerted this month, but his invention contributed but little to correct all the errors that roſe from their computation of the year, as we have ſhown in his life (5). *Cæſar* called in the beſt philoſophers and mathematicians of his time, to ſettle this point; and though the principles upon which they proceeded were already known, yet they eſtabliſhed a ſingular and accurate computation, which the *Romans* uſe to this day; and for this reaſon they ſeem to err leſs than any

(4) For by means of this irregularity the *Roman* kalendar had gained near three months in the days of *Cæſar*. Before his time endeavours had been uſed to correct that inequality, but it never

any other nation in the reduction of the inequality of the lunar and ſolar motions. Yet even this gave offence to thoſe who envied *Cæſar*'s greatneſs, and were weary of his power; for *Cicero* the orator, when ſome body happened to ſay, that *the next morning* Lyra *would riſe*, replied, *To be ſure, there is an edict for it*; as if men were forced by authority to receive this new ſcheme.

But that which brought upon him the moſt apparent and mortal hatred, was his deſire of being King; this gave the common people the firſt occaſion of complaint, and proved the moſt ſpecious pretence to thoſe who had been his ſecret enemies all along. Thoſe, who would have procured him that title gave out, that it was foretold in the *Sibyls* books, *that the* Romans *ſhould conquer the* Parthians *when they fought againſt them under the conduct of a King, but not before.* And one day, as *Cæſar* was returning from *Alba* to *Rome*, ſome were ſo bold as to ſalute him by the name of King; but he finding the people diſreliſh it, ſeemed to reſent it himſelf, and ſaid, *His title was* Cæſar, *not* King. Upon this, they forbore their acclamations, and he paſt on with an air of ſullenneſs and diſſatisfaction. Another time, when the ſenate had conferred on him ſome extravagant honours, he happened to receive the meſſage as he was ſitting on the *Roſtrum*, where, though the Conſuls and Prætors themſelves waited on him, attended by the whole body of the ſenate, he did not riſe, but behaved to them as if they had been private men; his anſwer to them was, *That his honours wanted rather to be retrenched than increaſed.* This behaviour offended not only the ſenate, but the commonalty too; for they thought the affront upon the ſenate equally reflected upon the whole republick; ſo that all who could decently leave him went off much dejected. *Cæſar* perceiving the

falſe

never could be done with exactneſs.

(5) See Volume I. page 183.

(6) See

falſe ſtep he had made, immediately retired home; and laying his throat bare, told his friends, that he was ready to preſent it to any man that would kill him. Afterwards he excuſed his ſitting by his diſtemper, under pretence that thoſe who are affected with it have their ſenſes diſcompoſed if they talk much ſtanding, that they preſently grow giddy, fall into convulſions, and quite loſe their reaſon. But all this was feigned; for he would willingly have ſtood up to the ſenate, had not *Cornelius Balbus*, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, hindered him. *Do not you remember*, ſaid he, *that you are* Cæſar? *And will you abate any thing of that honour which is due to you?* He gave ſtill a freſh occaſion of reſentment by his affront to the tribunes. The *Lupercalia* (6) were then celebrated, a feaſt at the firſt inſtitution peculiar, as ſome writers ſay, to the ſhepherds, and much of the ſame nature with the *Arcadian Lycæa:* many young noblemen and magiſtrates run that day up and down the city naked, ſtriking all they meet with leathern thongs, by way of ſport; women of the beſt quality place themſelves in the way, and hold out their hands to the laſh, as boys in a ſchool do to the *Ferula*, from an opinion that it procures an eaſy labour to thoſe who are with child, and makes thoſe conceive who are barren. *Cæſar* dreſt in a triumphal robe, ſeated himſelf in a golden chair upon the *Roſtrum*, to view this ceremony. *Anthony*, as Conſul, was one of thoſe who ran his courſe; when he came into the *Forum*, the people made way for him, whilſt he preſented *Cæſar* with a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon

(6) See a further account of the ceremonies obſerved at this feſtival, Vol. I. p. 80, 81.

(7) The *Cumæans* were noted for their ſtupidity, as *Strabo* obſerves, *lib.* 13; and he gives us theſe reaſons for it. The firſt is that they were three hundred years before they thought of laying a duty upon merchandize imported into their harbours, and before they found out that they inhabited a maritime city. The ſecond is that having mortgaged their porticos for a certain ſum of money, and failing to pay it at the time named in the contract, their creditors prohibited

Upon this, a ſound of applauſe was heard, which however was very feeble, as it proceeded only from a few perſons placed there on purpoſe; but when *Cæſar* refuſed it the applauſe was general. Upon the ſecond offer, a few only clapped their hands; but on his once more refuſing it the applauſe was again univerſal. *Cæſar* having made this experiment of the diſpoſition of the people, roſe up, and ordered the crown to be carried into the capitol. *Cæſar*'s ſtatues were afterwards found with royal diadems on their heads: *Flavius* and *Marullus*, two tribunes of the people, went preſently and pulled them off; and having apprehended thoſe who firſt ſaluted *Cæſar* as *King*, committed them to priſon. The people followed them with acclamations, and called them *Brutus's*, becauſe *Brutus* was the firſt who cut off the ſucceſſion of kings, and transferred the power which before was lodged in one, into the hands of the ſenate and people. *Cæſar* ſo far reſented this, that he diſplaced *Marullus* and *Flavius*; and at the ſame time that he inveighed againſt them, he ridiculed the people, calling them ſeveral times *Bruti* and (7) *Cumæi*.

Theſe things made the multitude turn their eyes on *Marcus Brutus*, who by his father's ſide was thought to be deſcended from that firſt *Brutus*, and by his mother's ſide from the *Servilii*, another noble family, and who beſides was nephew and ſon-in-law to *Cato*. But the honours and favours he had received from *Cæſar* checked him from attempting of his own accord to ſubvert the monarchy; for he had not only been pardoned himſelf after *Pompey*'s defeat at *Pharſalia*, and had

hibited them from walking under them. But when the rains began to fall, thoſe creditors being touched with ſome ſhame and remorſe, cauſed it to be publiſhed *that the* Cumæans *if they pleaſed, might take ſhelter under their own porticos*; which gave occaſion to this piece of raillery, *That the* Cumæans *had not the ſenſe to know that they ſhould ſtand under their porticos when it rained, till they were informed of it by the voice of the crier*.

(8) The

had procured the ſame favour for many of his friends, but was one in whom *Cæſar* had a particular confidence. He had at that time the moſt honourable Prætorſhip, and was named for the Conſulſhip four years after, being preferred before *Caſſius* his competitor. Upon the diſpute between them, *Cæſar* ſaid, Caſſius *has the faireſt pretenſions, but I cannot paſs by* Brutus. Nor did he afterwards hearken to thoſe who accuſed *Brutus* as being engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him; but laying his hand on his body, ſaid to the informers, Brutus *will ſtay for this ſkin of mine*; intimating, that he was worthy of empire on account of his virtue, but would not be baſe and ungrateful to gain it. But thoſe who deſired a change, and looked on him as the only, or at leaſt the moſt proper perſon to effect it, durſt not diſcourſe on the ſubject with him; but in the night-time laid papers on the tribunal where he uſed to ſit and determine cauſes, with ſentences in them of this kind; *You are aſleep*, Brutus: *You are no longer* Brutus. *Caſſius*, when he perceived that his ambition and love of glory was in ſome degree rouſed by this, endeavoured to urge and excite him ſtill further, having himſelf a private grudge againſt *Cæſar*, for ſome reaſons that we have mentioned in the life of *Brutus*. Nor was *Cæſar* without ſuſpicions of him; ſo that he once ſaid to his friends, *What do you think* Caſſius *aims at? I do not much like him, he looks ſo pale.* And when it was told him, that *Anthony* and *Dolabella* were in a plot againſt him, he ſaid, *He did not fear the fat and ſleek men, but rather the pale and lean*, meaning *Caſſius* and *Brutus*.

Fate ſeems to be more eaſily foreſeen than avoided; for there were many ſtrange appearances and prodigies on this occaſion. As to the lights in the heavens, the

(8) The pinacle was a ſort of ornament uſually placed on the top of their temples. The *Greeks* called it ἀετὸς, ἀέτωμα, and the *Latins*, *Faſtigium*. It was not allowed to private perſons to raiſe ſuch ornaments on the tops of their houſes without the conſent of the ſenate, to whom it belonged to confer publick

the noiſes which were every where heard in the night, and the ſolitary birds which flew into the *Forum*, theſe are not perhaps worth taking notice of in ſo remarkable an event. But *Strabo* the philoſopher tells us, that men were ſeen in the air all on fire encountering each other; and that a prodigious flame ſeemed to iſſue from the hand of a ſoldier's ſervant, inſomuch that they who ſaw it thought he muſt be burnt, but that after all he had no hurt. As *Cæſar* was ſacrificing, the victim was ſeen to want a heart, which was a very ill omen, becauſe a creature cannot ſubſiſt without a heart. Many add, that a ſoothſayer bid him beware of the *Ides of March*, becauſe he was then threatned with ſome great danger; and that when the day was come, *Cæſar* as he went to the ſenate met this ſoothſayer, and ſaid to him by way of raillery, *The ides of* March *are come*; and he anſwered him ſoftly, *Yes, they are come, but they are not paſt.* The day before, he ſupped with *Marcus Lepidus*; and as he was ſigning ſome letters while he was at table, as he often did, there aroſe a diſpute *what ſort of death was the beſt?* At which he immediately, before any one could ſpeak, cried out, *A ſudden one.*

After this, as he was in bed with his wife, all the doors and windows of the chamber where he lay flew open on a ſudden. He was ſtartled at the noiſe, and at the light which broke into the room, and by the moonſhine perceived *Calpurnia* faſt aſleep, but heard her utter in a dream ſome indiſtinct words, and inarticulate groans. She fancied at that time ſhe was weeping over *Cæſar*, and holding him butchered in her arms. Others, among whom is *Livy*, ſay that this was not her dream; but that ſhe dreamed (5) a pinacle (which the ſenate had allowed to be raiſed on *Cæſar*'s

publick honours. Thus as a token of honour it was allowed to *Poplicola* to have the doors of his houſe open towards the ſtreet inſtead of opening inwards. This pinacle was commonly adorned with ſome ſtatues of their Gods, figures of victory, or ſuch other decorations as were ſuitable to the rank and quality of thoſe to whom

Cæſar's houſe by way of ornament and grandeur) was broken down, which was the occaſion of her tears and groans. When it was day, ſhe begged of *Cæſar*, if it were poſſible, not to ſtir out, but to adjourn the ſenate to another time; and if he ſlighted her dreams, at leaſt to conſult his fate by ſacrifices, and other kinds of divination. Nor was he himſelf without ſome ſuſpicion and fear; for he never before diſcovered in *Calpurnia* any womaniſh ſuperſtition, though he now ſaw her under ſuch terrible apprehenſions. Upon the report which the prieſts made to him, that they had killed ſeveral ſacrifices, and ſtill found them inauſpicious, he was reſolved to ſend *Antony* to diſmiſs the ſenate. In the mean time *Decius Brutus* (9) ſurnamed *Albinus* came in. He was one in whom *Cæſar* had ſuch confidence that he had made him his ſecond heir, though at the ſame time he was engaged in the conſpiracy againſt him, with the other *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. This man fearing leſt if *Cæſar* ſhould adjourn the ſenate to another day, the affair might be diſcovered, ridiculed the diviners, and told *Cæſar* he would be much to blame if he gave the ſenate ſo juſt grounds of complaint againſt him, by putting ſuch a ſlight on them; *for they are*, ſaid he, *met upon your own ſummons, and are ready to vote unanimouſly, that you ſhall be declared King of all the provinces out of* Italy, *and be allowed to wear a diadem in any other place, both by ſea and land. Now if any one ſhould be ſent to tell them they muſt break up for the preſent, and meet again when* Calpurnia *ſhall chance to have better dreams, what will your enemies ſay? Or, who will with any patience hear your friends, if they ſhall pretend to juſtify you, and maintain that this is not an inſtance of downright ſervitude on the one part, and manifeſt tyranny on the other? But if you are ſo far prepoſſeſſed as really to think this an unfortunate day, it will be more decent for you to go to the ſenate yourſelf, and adjourn it in your own perſon.*

Brutus,

whom the privilege of erecting them was granted.

(9) *Appian*

Brutus, having ſpoke theſe words, took *Cæſar* by the hand, and conducted him forth. He was not gone far from the door, when a ſlave belonging to ſome other perſon made towards him; but not being able to come up to him, by reaſon of the crowd who preſſed about him, he made ſhift to get into the houſe, and committed himſelf to *Calpurnia*, begging of her to ſecure him till *Cæſar* returned, becauſe he had matters of great importance to communicate to him. *Artemidorus* the *Cnidian*, who taught the art of rhetorick in *Greek*, and by that means was ſo well acquainted with ſome of *Brutus*'s friends, that he had got intelligence of moſt of their tranſactions, brought *Cæſar* a paper containing an account of what he had to diſcover to him. But having obſerved that *Cæſar* as he received any papers immediately delivered them to ſome of his officers who attended him, he came very near to him and ſaid, *Read this*, Cæſar, *alone, and quickly; for it contains great buſineſs, and ſuch as concerns you nearly.* *Cæſar* received it, and attempted to read it ſeveral times, but was ſtill hindered by the crowd of thoſe who came to ſpeak to him. However he kept it in his hand by itſelf, till he came into the ſenate. Some ſay it was another who gave *Cæſar* this note, and that *Artemidorus* could not come up to him, being all along kept off by the crowd. All theſe things might happen by chance. But the place where the ſenate met, which was choſen for the ſcene of this murder, was the ſame in which *Pompey*'s ſtatue ſtood, and was one of the edifices which *Pompey* had built and dedicated with his theatre for the uſe of the publick; which plainly ſhowed that there was ſome Deity which guided the action, and ordered it to be in that particular place. *Caſſius* juſt before the action looked towards *Pompey*'s ſtatue, and ſilently implored his aſſiſtance; though he was an *Epicurean* in his principles; but this occaſion, and the imminent danger, ſhook

(9) *Appian* and *Suetonius* call him *Decimus Brutus*.

(1) *Plutarch*

ſhook his former notions, and made him a perfect enthuſiaſt. As for *Anthony*, who was firm to *Cæſar*, and a man of ſtrength and reſolution, (1) *Brutus Albinus* kept him without the houſe, and entertained him with a long diſcourſe contrived on purpoſe.

When *Cæſar* entred into the houſe, the ſenate ſtood up in reſpect to him. Some of *Brutus*'s confederates came about his chair, and ſtood behind it; others met him, pretending to ſupplicate with *Metillius Cimber* (2) in behalf of his brother who was in exile; and they followed him with their joint petitions till he came to his ſeat. When he was ſeated he rejected their petitions, and upon their urging him further, reprimanded them ſeverally. Whereupon *Metellus* laying hold of his robe with both his hands, drew it off his neck, which was the ſignal for the aſſault. *Caſca* gave him the firſt wound in the neck, which was not mortal, nor dangerous, as coming from one who at the beginning of ſuch a bold action was probably in great agitation of mind. *Cæſar* immediately turned about, and laid his hand upon his dagger; and both of them at the ſame time cried out; he that received the blow, in *Latin*, *Thou villain* Caſca! *what doſt thou mean?* and he that gave it in *Greek*, addreſſing himſelf to his brother, *Brother, help!* Upon the firſt onſet, thoſe who were not privy to the deſign were aſtoniſhed; and their horror at the action was ſo great, that they durſt not fly, nor aſſiſt *Cæſar*, nor ſo much as ſpeak a word. But thoſe who came prepared for the buſineſs, encloſed him on every ſide with their naked daggers in their hands; ſo that which way ſoever he turned, he met with wounds, and ſaw their ſwords levelled at his face and eyes, and was aſſailed on all ſides like a beaſt taken in a toil. For it was agreed they ſhould each of them make a thruſt at him, and all partake in

(1) *Plutarch* ſays in the life of *Brutus*, that *Anthony* was detained without by *Caius Trebonius*; which agrees with *Appian*'s account.

(2) *Suetonius* calls him *Tullius Cimber*.

in the ſacrifice; wherefore *Brutus* gave him one ſtab in the groin. Some ſay that he fought and reſiſted all the reſt, moving about from one place to another, and calling out for help; but that when he ſaw *Brutus*'s ſword drawn, he covered his face with his robe, and quietly ſurrendered himſelf, till he was puſhed, either by chance, or by deſign of the murderers, to the pedeſtal on which *Pompey*'s ſtatue ſtood, which by that means was much ſtained with his blood. So that *Pompey* himſelf may ſeem to have preſided in this execution of vengeance upon his enemy, who fell at his feet, and expired from a multitude of wounds; for they ſay he received three and twenty. The conſpirators themſelves were many of them wounded by each other, whilſt they all levelled their blows at the ſame perſon.

When *Cæſar* was diſpatched, *Brutus* ſtood forth to give a reaſon for what they had been doing; but the ſenators, who had not the heart to ſtay and hear him, flew out of doors in all haſte, and filled the people with ſo much fear and diſtraction, that ſome ſhut up their houſes, others left their ſhops and places of buſineſs; all were running one way or other; ſome to the place, to ſee the ſad ſpectacle; others back again, after they had ſeen it. *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, *Cæſar*'s beſt friends, got off privately, and concealed themſelves in ſome friends houſes. *Brutus* and his followers, yet reeking from the ſlaughter, marched in a body from the ſenate-houſe to the capitol with their drawn ſwords, not like perſons who thought of eſcaping, but with an air of confidence and chearfulneſs. As they went along, they called to the people to reſume their liberty, and complimented thoſe of better quality, as they came in their way. Some of thoſe went along with them, and joined company with the conſpirators, pretending to ſhare in the honour of the action, as if they had borne a part in it.

Cimber. Perhaps his name was *M. Tullius Cimber*, and the tranſcribers changed *M. Tullius* into *Metillius*.

(3) *Pliny*

it. Of this number was *Caius Octavius*, and *Lentulus Spinther*. However they ſuffered afterwards for their vanity, being put to death by *Anthony* and the younger *Cæſar*; but they loſt the honour they deſired, and for which they loſt their lives, ſince no one believed they had any ſhare in the action; for even they who puniſhed them did not do it in revenge of the fact, but the will. The day after, *Brutus* with the reſt came down from the capitol, and made a ſpeech to the people, who attended to it, without expreſſing either any pleaſure or reſentment, but ſhowed by their deep ſilence that they pitied *Cæſar* and reverenced *Brutus*. The ſenate paſſed an act of oblivion, and took healing meaſures to reconcile all parties: they ordered that *Cæſar* ſhould be worſhipped as a God, and that not even the leaſt thing ſhould be altered which he had enacted during his government: at the ſame time they gave *Brutus* and his followers the command of provinces, and other conſiderable poſts: ſo that all people now thought things were well ſettled, and put into a very good poſture. But when *Cæſar*'s will was opened, and it was found that he had left a conſiderable legacy to each of the *Roman* citizens; and when his body was ſeen carried through the *Forum* all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer contain themſelves within the bounds of decency and order, but heaped together a pile of benches, doors, and tables, on which they placed the corpſe, and burnt it there. Then ſome of them took firebrands, and ran to burn the houſes of the aſſaſſins, others went up and down the city, to find out the men themſelves, and tear them in pieces; but they met with none of them, they having taken effectual care to ſecure themſelves.

One *Cinna*, a friend of *Cæſar*'s, chanced the night before to have an odd dream: he fancied that *Cæſar* invited him to ſupper; and that upon his refuſal to go

(3) *Pliny* has preſerved a paſſage of *Auguſtus*, who ſucceeded *Cæſar*, wherein he ſays that that comet appeared all on a ſudden, whilſt

go with him, *Cæſar* took him by the hand, and forced him, though he hung back. Upon notice that *Cæſar*'s body was burning in the *Forum*, he got up, and went thither, out of reſpect to his memory, though his dream gave him ſome ill apprehenſions, and though was at the ſame time feveriſh. One of the rabble who ſaw him there, aſked another, *Who that was?* And having learned his name, told it to his next neighbour. A report was preſently ſpread through the whole multitude that he was one of *Cæſar*'s murderers; and indeed there was one *Cinna* among the conſpirators. The people taking this to be the man, immediately ſeized him, and tore him limb from limb upon the ſpot.

Brutus and *Caſſius* were ſo terrified at theſe proceedings, that a few days after they withdrew out of the city. What they afterwards did and ſuffered, and how they died, is related in the life of *Brutus*. *Cæſar* died in his fifty-ſixth year, not having ſurvived *Pompey* much above four years. That empire and power which he had purſued through the whole courſe of his life with ſo much hazard, he at laſt with great difficulty attained; but he reaped no other fruits from it than an empty name, and invidious title. But that happy genius, which was propitious to him during his life, ſeems to have adhered to him after his death, as the revenger of his murder; for it purſued and traced by ſea and land all thoſe who were concerned in it, and ſuffered none to eſcape, but reached all who were either actually engaged in the fact, or by their counſels any way promoted it.

The moſt ſignal accident of any that ariſe from common natural cauſes, was that which befel *Caſſius*; who when he was conquered at *Philippi*, killed himſelf with the ſame dagger which he had made uſe of againſt *Cæſar*. The moſt remarkable appearance in the heavens (3) was a great comet, which ſhone very bright for

(3) whilſt they were celebrating the games in honour of *Cæſar*: *In ipſis ludorum meorum diebus ſidus crinitum per ſeptem dies in regione cæli*

for ſeven nights after *Cæſar*'s death, and then diſappeared. There was alſo a very faint light in the ſun; for the orb of it was pale for the ſpace of a year, nor did it riſe with its uſual brightneſs and vigour. Hence it gave but a feeble heat, and the air was damp and groſs for want of ſtronger rays to clear and rarify it: the fruits, for that reaſon, were crude and unconcocted, ſo that they rotted and decayed through the chillneſs of the air. Above all, the phantom which appeared to *Brutus*, ſhowed that the murder was not pleaſing to the Gods. The ſtory of it is this.

Brutus being to paſs his army from *Abydos* to the oppoſite continent, laid himſelf down one night, as he uſed to do, in his tent; he was not aſleep, but thinking of his affairs, and the event of the war; for he was naturally of a watchful conſtitution, and no General ever required ſo little ſleep. He thought he heard a noiſe at the door of his tent; and looking that way, by the light of his lamp, which was almoſt extinguiſhed, he ſaw a terrible figure, like that of a man, but of an extraordinary bulk and grim countenance. He was ſomewhat frighted at firſt: but ſeeing it neither did nor ſpoke any thing to him, but only ſtood ſilently by his bedſide, he aſked it at laſt, *Who it was?* The ſpectre anſwered him, *I am thy evil genius*, Brutus, *and thou ſhalt ſee me at* Philippi. *Brutus* anſwered very couragiouſly, *Well, I will ſee thee there*; and immediately the apparition vaniſhed. When the time was come, he drew up his army near *Philippi* againſt *Anthony* and *Cæſar*, and in the firſt battle got the day, routed the enemy, and plundered *Cæſar*'s camp. The night before the ſecond battle, the ſame ſpectre appeared to him again, but

cæli quæ ſub ſeptentrionibus eſt, conſpectum. Id oriebatur circa undecimam horam Diei, clarumque & omnibus terris conſpicuum fuit. Eo ſidere ſignificari vulgus credidit Cæſaris animam in Deorum immortalium numina receptam: quo nomine id inſigne ſimulacro capitis ejus, quod mox in foro conſecravimus, adjectum eſt. Plin. *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 25.

but ſpoke not a word. He preſently underſtood his death was near, and expoſed himſelf to all the danger of the battle: yet he did not die in the fight; but ſeeing his men defeated, he got up to the top of a rock, and there preſenting his ſword to his naked breaſt, and being aſſiſted, as they ſay, by a friend, who helped him to give the thruſt, died upon the ſpot.

The Compariſon of CÆSAR *with* ALEXANDER.

By Mr. DACIER.

THE *Roman* empire ſo plentifully abounded with virtues of all kinds, eſpecially ſuch as are military, that I have before me a large choice of many great commanders, and ſome even of his contemporaries, worthy to be put in competition with *Alexander*. But when *Cæſar* preſents himſelf I cannot but at the firſt view think him the fitteſt to be compared with that conqueror of *Aſia*. And I may venture to ſay that if in my other compariſons I have myſelf made choice of the champions I was to bring into the liſts, in this, that is now before us, I have only followed the univerſal conſent of mankind: The general concurrence of all nations, and all ages, has pointed *Cæſar* out as the fitteſt perſon to be compared with *Alexander*, the perſon in whom is to be found the greateſt conformity with him. Indeed there is a perfect reſemblance between them in their principal features; the ſame ambition, and the ſame delight in war; the ſame ardour and impetuoſity in purſuing their deſigns; the ſame courage and intrepidity in action; the ſame generoſity to thoſe they had vanquiſhed, and the ſame confidence in fortune. *Alexander*'s glory effaced that of all the *Grecian* commanders who had gone before him, and *Cæſar*'s infinitely excelled his predeceſſors among the *Romans*. At his approach all others were eclipſed,

as when the ſun firſt appears all the nightly luminaries are extinguiſhed, and, to make uſe of *Pindar*'s words,

His light lays waſte the whole extent of heaven.

But as in thoſe faces where we meet with the ſtrongeſt reſemblances, we always find ſome marks of diſtinction; ſo there are in the lineaments of theſe two heroes ſome peculiar features that point out to us the difference that is between them. We are now to take a ſurvey of the one and the other, and to weigh in an equal balance their virtues and their vices, that the reader may be able to judge which of them has the preference, and in which of them is to be found the moſt true and ſolid greatneſs.

If we conſider them with reſpect to their birth, we ſhall not find the one to have any advantage over the other. *Alexander* was deſcended from *Hercules* by his father's ſide, and from *Achilles* by his mother's; ſo that he could trace his pedigree up to *Jupiter* himſelf; and ſo could *Cæſar* too, being as he ſaid, deſcended from *Venus* and *Anchiſes*. But *Alexander* did in a manner diſhonour his birth by diſguiſing it, pretending to be the ſon of *Jupiter*, and the fruit of the commerce of that Deity with his mother. Whereas *Cæſar* never departed from the tradition of his family, but thought it enough to ſay, *that the* Julii *were deſcended from* Venus, *and that in his family was to be found the majeſty of kings, who are above the reſt of mankind, and the ſanctity of the Gods, on whom kings are dependent.*

They were both of them exceedingly beautiful, of a loſty mien, full of ſweetneſs and majeſty. The fire that ſparkled in their eyes betokened the heat and impetuoſity of their courage. However each of them had a defect in his make, which their reſpective hiſtorians have not forgotten. *Cæſar* was bald, and *Alexander*'s head leaned on one ſide. But this defect

in *Cæſar* was at laſt concealed by his many victories; for they gave him a right to a laurel crown, which he wore conſtantly; and that of *Alexander* was it were wiped off by the flattery of his courtiers, thoſe apes of their maſter, for they either effaced it, or rendered it leſs remarkable by their imitation of it. *Alexander* was formed by nature to encounter the greateſt hardſhips; whereas *Cæſar* was of a weak delicate conſtitution, which however he ſtrengthened by exerciſe, and drew even from war a remedy for his indiſpoſitions, by never ſparing himſelf, by inuring his body to all ſorts of fatigues, and turning even his repoſe into action. Now it is more glorious to harden and invigorate an infirm body by the mere dint of courage and labour, than to receive it robuſt and ſtrong from the hands of nature.

They were both poſſeſſed with the ſame ſpirit of ambition, the ſame paſſion for empire and dominion. *Alexander*, whilſt but a child, complained to his comrades of his father, who, he ſaid, would leave nothing for him to conquer; and *Cæſar* in a more advanced age, confeſſed to his friends as he was paſſing the *Alps*, that he had rather be the firſt in a poor inconſiderable town than the ſecond in *Rome*. And upon reading the life of *Alexander* one day whilſt he was in *Spain*, he burſt out into tears becauſe he had done nothing glorious at an age wherein that Prince had conquered ſo many kingdoms. But in truth this paſſion was more proper for *Alexander*, who was born a King, than for *Cæſar*, who was by birth no more than a private perſon, notwithſtanding his high extraction; he was as it were hemmed in by numbers of great men, all his equals; ſo that he could not think of aggrandizing himſelf without breaking down that barrier of equality, and committing the greateſt acts of injuſtice.

It is true that on the other ſide this makes for the advantage of *Cæſar*. For it is not ſo ſurpriſing to

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ſee a Prince of royal birth, and aided with all the ſupports which that ſtate affords, raiſed to the higheſt pitch of greatneſs, as to ſee a private man, without any of thoſe advantages, by his own induſtry raiſe himſelf to that eminence. He certainly ſhows himſelf to be the greater man who owes his advancement to himſelf alone, than he who is in a conſiderable degree obliged to his anceſtors for it, who have laid the firſt foundations of that advancement.

As to their education, *Alexander* had a great advantage over *Cæſar*. We hear no mention of his preceptors, and are only told that he went to *Rhodes* to hear *Apollonius Molon* the philoſopher; whereas *Alexander* had many preceptors and governors always attending him; and his father *Philip* ſent for *Ariſtotle*, the moſt celebrated and learned of all the philoſophers, to take care of his education. To this education was owing the great love he had for knowledge and learning, which made him own that he had rather excel other men in that reſpect, than in power and dominion. This taught him to entertain ſuch a high value and eſteem for *Homer*, as to declare that he envied *Achilles* nothing but his good fortune in having that excellent poet for the herald of his actions. And yet it may be ſaid with great truth that *Cæſar*, though he had a more ordinary education, was as great a proficient in learning as *Alexander*, which appeared by his many treatiſes, and of which his *Commentaries*, and the high commendations he received from his contemporaries on account of his eloquence, are teſtimonies ſtill ſubſiſting.

Alexander's firſt appearance in the world was with ſuch a luſtre, as plainly foretold the amazing brightneſs that was to follow. Being left Regent of the realm at the age of ſixteen he reduced a nation that had rebelled, and took their capital city by aſſault. Two years after he had the command of a wing of the army under his father *Philip* at the battle of *Chæ-*

ronea, where he broke the ſacred band of the *Thebans*. When he was twenty years old he ſucceeded his father in the empire, and though he found the ſtate in a very diſtracted condition, the barbarous nations being ready to throw off the yoke, and *Greece* not accuſtomed to the dominion of the *Macedonians*, in great confuſion and agitation, yet he refuſed to follow the advice of his friends, who counſelled him to leave *Greece* to herſelf, and not think of retaining her by force, and to reduce the barbarians by gentle uſage, and apply lenitives to the diſtemper. Inſtead of theſe timorous expedients he built his ſecurity upon his courage and magnanimity. He marched againſt the barbarians, and defeated them in a pitched battle; after which he turned his victorious arms againſt the *Thebans*, and eſtabliſhed his power in *Greece* by the chaſtiſement inflicted on the rebels.

Cæſar's beginnings were not ſo illuſtrious. We hear nothing of him till after he was married, and the firſt years that ſucceeded his marriage do not afford any thing that can ſtand in competition with the great exploits of the *Macedonian*, unleſs we ſhould bring into the compariſon his ſteady behaviour, though he was then but young, towards *Sylla*; his haughty carriage to the pirates though he was their priſoner, and the puniſhment he inflicted on them after he had defeated them in their own harbour. It was indeed an argument of great reſolution not to be ſhocked at the menaces of a man ſo cruel and imperious as *Sylla*, and to uſe a parcel of lawleſs unrelenting pirates as if he had been their maſter, and not their priſoner. Beſides *Cæſar* muſt even in his youth have promiſed ſomething very great and formidable, ſince *Sylla* ſaid *that in that boy he diſcovered many* Marius's. But is this dawn comparable to that of *Alexander*, in which he rendered himſelf maſter of *Greece*, reduced *Thrace* and *Illyria*, and ſubdued the *Triballi* and *Mœſians*?

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The expedients they both made uſe of in order to compaſs their ends, and attain their greatneſs, place them in very different lights. *Alexander*'s procedure was full of honour, candor, and ſincerity; that of *Cæſar* was made up of meanneſs, fraud, and artifice. He diſhonourably made his court to the people; propoſed many ſeditious laws to gain their favour; advanced to the office of tribune the moſt infamous of mankind, and practiſed a ſcandalous traffick of marriages in order to carry on his deſigns.

Policy is an art peculiarly belonging to princes and ſtateſmen. That of *Cæſar* was deep, and refined. He at the ſame time ſolicited for the Conſulſhip and a triumph; but as the laws diſqualified him from the firſt whilſt he remained with his troops at the gates of the city, after having demanded a privilege which was refuſed him, he dropped his pretenſions to the triumph, entered *Rome*, and put up for the Conſulſhip, like a true politician preferring that which was more ſure and profitable, to that which was more glaring and oſtentatious. He reconciled *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, by which he ſecured to himſelf the power and intereſt of them both. So that an action which outwardly ſeemed to be full of humanity, put him in a condition to overturn the government. He defeated his enemies by the arms of his citizens, and bought his citizens with the wealth of his enemies. There is nothing of this kind in *Alexander* that may be compared with it; but that is for his honour; for policy is never commendable, but when it is employed by juſtice.

There was one inſtance of policy in *Cæſar* worthy of commendation. After he had overthrown the *Helvetians* in a general engagement he recalled thoſe that had eſcaped from the battle to the number of a hundred thouſand and upwards, and forced them to return into their own country, and rebuild the cities they had deſtroyed. This he did to prevent the *Germans*

mans who might have been tempted by the goodneſs of the country to paſs the *Rhine*, and ſettle in thoſe parts, which would have been of dangerous conſequence to the *Romans*.

But is not *Alexander* to be commended for his policy, when for the better maintaining and ſecuring his power during his abſence in remote parts, he took thirty thouſand children of the principal families in *Perſia*, to be educated in the learning of *Greece*, and inſtructed in the *Macedonian* exerciſes? By this means aſſuring himſelf of the fidelity of the parents and affection of the children, who beſides from hoſtages would in time become ſoldiers.

His marriage with *Roxana*, and afterwards with *Darius*'s daughter, as alſo the marriage of the principal officers of his court to the daughters of the greateſt men in *Perſia*, which was celebrated with ſo much magnificence, may be looked on as the effect of great prudence, for he thereby joined in bands of the cloſeſt alliance, two of the moſt powerful nations upon earth. Unleſs it may be ſaid that pleaſure, and the allurements of great and magnificent feaſts, accompanied with love and diſſolute revelling, which had already got the better of his continence, had a larger ſhare than policy in that union.

As for their warlike actions, by which they are particularly characterized, it is eaſy to draw a compariſon between them, but it is not ſo eaſy to determine which has the advantage; this muſt be the work of the moſt conſummate and experienced commander. We will endeavour to propoſe that which to us ſeems the moſt obvious.

Many things are requiſite to the forming a great General. For without reckoning up the qualifications of the body, he ought to have prudence to undertake wiſely, to lay his deſigns deeply, and ſo to apply his expedients as to execute them ſucceſsfully. He ought to know what places are proper for encampments;

campments; how to form an army according to the nature of the ground, the difference of conjunctures, and the diſpoſition of the enemy, ſo as to deprive him of all poſſible advantages, and ſecure them to himſelf. He ought artfully to conceal his own ſchemes, and penetrate into thoſe of the enemy, or as *Plato* ſays from *Homer*, to ſteal from him his reſolutions, his deſigns, and all his enterprizes. He muſt have the foreſight to ſecure his convoys, and prevent their falling into ambuſcades; courage and boldneſs in execution; a vivacity in profiting from all conjunctures, and ſeeing with the caſt of an eye, and inſtantly amending any diſorder that may ariſe in the heat of action, which otherwiſe may diſcompoſe meaſures the moſt prudent, and beſt concerted; but above all this he muſt have a cool head, and ſolid judgment, that can never be diſturbed in the midſt of the greateſt dangers.

All theſe qualifications appear in a high degree both in *Cæſar* and *Alexander*; though the latter truſted more to fortune, who has a great influence upon all human affairs, and exerts her power no where with ſo much inſolence, as in military undertakings.

After his eſſay againſt the *Thebans*, and actions that would do honour to the moſt renowned commanders, he undertook his expedition into *Aſia*, with means no way proportioned to the greatneſs of the enterprize. He ſet out with an army conſiſting of no more than thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and a fund of two hundred talents. With this fund, and this army, was he to encounter with *Darius*, who could raiſe millions of men, and had immenſe treaſures to maintain them.

Imagination ſtartles at the boldneſs of this enterprize, and is aſtoniſhed and tranſported at the manner in which it was executed. What can be more wonderful than his paſſage over the *Granicus*? *Alexander*

ander there looks more like one poſſeſſed, than a man of ſenſe and reaſon. To behold him in the middle of the flood, often born down, and buried in the waters, one would think one ſaw *Achilles* ſtruggling with the boiſterous waves of the *Scamander*, and *Simois*. At laſt after infinite hazards, and through the midſt of a ſhower of darts, he reached the oppoſite bank, where he engaged the enemy, and obtained a ſignal victory. *Sardis*, and ſeveral other cities are the fruits of that victory. *Miletus* and *Halicarnaſſus* he takes by force; he reduces the *Piſidians* who had revolted, and paſſes like a torrent through *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*. He advances againſt *Darius* into *Syria*, where he gains a ſecond victory, which was chiefly owing to his conduct, and the excellent diſpoſition of his forces. After this he lays ſiege to *Tyre*, during which he makes an incurſion into *Arabia*. And when he had reduced the place, which employed him ſeven months, and coſt him infinite labour, he ſits down before *Gaza* the capital of *Syria*, and makes himſelf maſter of that. From thence he marches into *Egypt* to conſult the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, where he meets with innumerable difficulties that were thought inſurmountable. Upon his return into *Phœnicia* he marches againſt *Darius*, who was come down with an army of a million of men, and defeats him in a pitched battle, which makes him maſter of *Babylon* and the whole *Perſian* empire.

To theſe famous exploits of *Alexander* we may oppoſe thoſe performed by *Cæſar* in *Spain*, where he ſubdued nations that till then had never paid any obedience to the *Romans*; and we may give the preference to his glorious campaigns againſt the *Tiguri-ans*, the *Helvetians*, the *Germans*, and the *Belgæ*, in which he totally ſubdued *Gaul*, took by aſſault above eight hundred towns, conquered three hundred nations, fought in different engagements againſt

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three millions of enemies, cut in pieces above one million, made another million priſoners, ended two important wars in one campaign, and choaked up the lakes and rivers with the bodies of the ſlain.

With *Alexander*'s paſſage over the *Granicus*, and his contention with the waves, may be oppoſed that exploit of *Cæſar*, who in the war of *Alexandria* ran a much greater riſque, when he jumped into a ſkiff to go to the aſſiſtance of his troops that were hardly preſſed at the attack of *Pharos*, and threw himſelf afterwards into the ſea to ſwim to his ſhips which were a great way off, though he was expoſed all the while to the enemies darts and javelins. He was the firſt *Roman* that ever paſt the *Rhine* at the head of an army; and though he paſt it on a bridge, it was a bridge which was contrived and perfected in the ſpace of ten days, and was for that reaſon the aſtoniſhment and admiration of the whole world. And what is ſtill more ſurprizing, this whole expedition was the buſineſs of no more than eighteen days.

To the boldneſs of *Alexander*'s expedition into the *Indies*, we may oppoſe that of *Cæſar* into *Britain*. *Alexander* therein ſatisfied the ambition he always had of puſhing his conqueſts to the extremity of the world, and had the ſatisfaction of ſailing ſome furlongs upon the Eaſtern ocean. But *Cæſar* was the firſt *Roman* that penetrated with his army as far as to the Weſtern ocean, and embarked his troops on the *Atlantick* ſea, carried the war into an iſland of which many doubted the very exiſtence, and ſo extended the bounds of the *Roman* empire beyond the limits of the habitable world.

Alexander found a greater difficulty in conquering *Porus* who had only twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, than in conquering *Darius* with his innumerable armies; and the victory *Alexander* obtained over him, wherein he took him priſoner, redounded

dounded more to his glory than all his exploits againſt the *Perſians*.

And yet this victory is not to be compared either with that obtained by *Cæſar* over *Arioviſtus*, or that other wherein he defeated the *Nervii*, the moſt warlike of the *Belgæ*. Nor will it ſtand in competition with his exploits againſt *Ambiorix*, who taking the advantage of his abſence fell upon *Cotta* and *Titurius Sabinus* in their quarters, and afterwards marched at the head of ſixty thouſand men to attack *Cicero* in his. *Cæſar* flew to his relief, with only ſeven thouſand men under his command. But what he wanted in ſtrength was ſupplied by conduct. He increaſed the preſumption of the barbarians by a feigned fear, till he had decoyed them on to his intrenchments, which they had the boldneſs to attack in an undiſciplined diſorderly manner natural to thoſe whoſe confidence is augmented by a thorough contempt of the enemy; then he fell on them and made a horrible ſlaughter.

Neither will this engagement with *Porus* counterbalance that of *Cæſar* againſt *Vercingetorix*, who had raiſed againſt the *Romans* a war more terrible than any they had been engaged in before; and who marched down at the head of many confederated nations united together by the moſt ſolemn vows, and equally formidable for their courage and numbers. *Cæſar* in the midſt of a ſevere winter, with an expedition incredible even in a courier, marches againſt them, lays their country waſte, and ſtorms their city. They attack him in his march, and encompaſs him on every ſide; notwithſtanding which, he bravely ſtands the ſhock, and after a very obſtiſtate reſiſtance defeats them, and forces them to fly into *Alexia*.

The ſiege of *Tyre*, which *Alexander* took by aſſault, that of *Gaza*, which he took in the ſame manner after he had been wounded in an attack, thoſe

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of the rock of *Siſimethres*, and the town of the *Mallians*, are not all together to be put in the balance againſt the ſingle ſiege of *Alexia*, to which place *Vercingetorix* was purſued by *Cæſar* after his overthrow. Never was General engaged in a more difficult affair, or expoſed to greater dangers. There were ſeventy thouſand ſoldiers in the town, and three hundred thouſand of the braveſt men in *Gaul* marching to their relief; ſo that *Cæſar* found himſelf ſhut in between two numerous armies. His addreſs, his good ſenſe and courage drew him out of that terrible ſituation. He overthrew that prodigious multitude, forced *Vercingetorix* to ſurrender *Alexia*, and throw himſelf at his feet.

Alexander has nothing to oppoſe to this ſingle action of *Cæſar*'s, nor to his conduct in the war of *Alexandria*, where he had a ſtrong town, and a powerful army, to contend with at the ſame time. And that which rendered his ſituation the more dangerous, was his want of water; and at the ſame time he was obliged to ſet fire to his fleet to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. He ſurmounted all theſe difficulties by his great courage and capacity. He forced the King of *Egypt* to retire to his troops, attacked him in his camp, defeated him with a very great ſlaughter, obliged him to fly for his ſafety, and ſo put a glorious end to that war, if a war undertaken in behalf of a woman can ever be ſaid to be ended glorioufly.

The battle gained by *Cæſar* in *Pontus* againſt *Pharnaces*, who had defeated *Domitius Calvinus*, and taken *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia* from the *Romans*; his exploits in *Spain* againſt *Pompey*'s lieutenants, *Afranius* and *Varro*, whom he ſtripped both of their troops and camps, may be parallelled with any two of *Alexander*'s moſt glorious performances in *Aſia*.

But I queſtion if in all *Alexander*'s exploits there can one be found to match the overthrow of *Pompey* in

in the plains of *Pharſalia*, or that of *Scipio* in *Africa*, where *Cæſar* in a few hours made himſelf maſter of three camps, and killed fifty thouſand men, or the defeat of *Pompey*'s ſons under the walls of *Munda*, where *Cæſar* ſlew no leſs than thirty thouſand men upon the ſpot, and owed his victory chiefly to his own valour and the example he gave his ſoldiers.

It may be ſaid in favour of *Alexander* that he was always victorious; whereas *Cæſar* was ſometimes defeated. But beſides that a General is not to be reproached for any loſs that is repaired almoſt as ſoon as received, this very thing turns to the advantage of *Cæſar*. For what idea muſt we conceive of troops that were able to beat *Cæſar?* and what glory muſt it be at laſt to conquer thoſe troops? Beſides, *Alexander* died young, in the full courſe of his proſperities, before fortune had time to think of turning the tide. If he had lived longer he might poſſibly have met with a reverſe; for what man is there who in the whole courſe of a long life ever found her conſtant in her favours. Did not long life expoſe the great *Cyrus* to a cruel reverſe? and did it not do the ſame by *Pompey*; without mentioning many other great kings and commanders, who have been ſtriking inſtances of the viciſſitude of human affairs.

But it may likewiſe be ſaid that the premature death of *Alexander* takes off and leſſens the advantages *Cæſar* has over him on account of his many victories. It is not reaſonable to compare the ſum total of a long life with that of a ſhort one, which paſſed quick like a flaſh of lightning. If *Alexander* had lived as long as *Cæſar*, he might poſſibly have been beaten as *Cæſar* was; but he might likewiſe have performed as many great actions as *Cæſar*, and have excelled even himſelf.

That which gives *Cæſar* an inconteſtable advan-
vantage over his rival, is the quality of the enemies,
they

they both had to encounter. *Alexander* had ſeldom or never any that made head againſt him, but ſuch as fled almoſt before they had charged, and who were not ſo properly to be called enemies as a booty that might be ſeized without any difficulty; whereas *Cæſar* had always to do with men nurſed in war, and who choſe rather to be hacked in pieces than quit their poſts. It was eaſier for *Alexander* to run over, or drive whole provinces before him, than for *Cæſar* to gain an inch of ground.

Beſides, *Cæſar* had not only thoſe fierce and warlike barbarians to oppoſe him; but had to do with *Roman* Generals of the greateſt reputation, and with *Roman* armies; that is, with officers and ſoldiers who had triumphed over the greateſt part of the univerſe.

But if we are to meaſure their exploits not ſo much by the greatneſs of them, and the difficulties that attended them, as by the benefits that flowed from them, and the motives that produced them, we ſhall find the balance pretty even.

An enemy terrible for courage, fierceneſs, and numbers, arms againſt *Rome*. *Cæſar* delivers her from all thoſe dangers, which appeared to her ſo great, that even the prieſts, and old men, who otherwiſe were exempted from the wars, loſt their immunities in caſe of a war with the *Gauls*. All the temples were crouded, and the ſenate ordained publick prayers and proceſſions for fifteen days together, in thankſgiving to the Gods, which had never been done before on account of any victory whatever.

Alexander's firſt exploits were equally profitable to his country; for he ſecured *Macedonia* againſt any inſults from her neighbours. But when that was done he purſued remote conqueſts; forgot the chief duty of a prince, which is the care of his people; drained *Macedonia* of her men and treaſure, and gave occaſion to thoſe diviſions, which in the end tore her

in pieces. *Cæſar* likewiſe by the civil wars ſpoiled all the fruits of his firſt exploits, and involved *Rome* in greater terrors than thoſe from which he had before delivered her.

As for the motives, which are the ſoul of actions, and by which wiſe men have at all times meaſured the merits of them, *Alexander* in that particular appears much ſuperior to *Cæſar*. If he undertook the conqueſt of *Aſia*, it was in revenge of the ravages committed upon *Greece* by the barbarians. If he laboured to bring all into ſubjection, it was not to enſlave mankind, but to make them happier. This character prevails in all his actions; he had no ſooner overthrown *Darius*, and found himſelf at the head of the *Perſian* empire, but *Greece* received the firſt fruits of his victories. His chief care was to aboliſh the tyrannies, and reſtore to all the cities their ancient rights and privileges. It may be ſaid in anſwer to this, that *Cæſar* likewiſe enfranchiſed the *Theſſalians* after the battle of *Pharſalia*; that he reſtored the *Cnidians* to their liberty, and eaſed the inhabitants of *Aſia* of a third part of their taxes. But this character is not uniform, nor well ſupported; for in all his other actions he ſeems to be a perfect ſtranger to it. He ſacrifices every thing to his ambition, and breaks through all the ties of honour and juſtice, to gratify it. He looks with pleaſure on *Cataline* and his accomplices, whilſt they are upon the point of overturning the empire by the revolt of nations and by foreign wars, and of laying *Rome* itſelf in aſhes. He watches to make his advantage of thoſe troubles and that conflagration, that he may reign abſolute in a deſolate city reduced to aſhes. In vain did the ſmall remains of natural reaſon, which inwardly condemns all ſorts of tranſgreſſions, fill his ſoul with agitation and horror, when he was upon the point of paſſing the *Rubicon* in order to render himſelf maſter of *Italy*.

The

The thirſt of power got the better of all thoſe remonſtrances, and in ſpite of his remorſe, he hurries blindly into an undertaking that was unavoidably to produce ſo many calamities. There was not one *Roman* throughout the empire whom he did not injure in the higheſt degree; for he robbed him of his liberty, which is the greateſt bleſſing of mankind. The character of tyrant was ſo deeply rooted in him, that notwithſtanding that gentleneſs of behaviour with which he endeavoured to diſguiſe it, even then when he ſeemed to be rendering his country the moſt important ſervices by his ſucceſsful undertakings, at that time was he endeavouring and contriving to bring her into ſubjection. He exerciſes himſelf againſt his enemies only that he may know how to ſubdue and enſlave his fellow-ſubjects. His very offers and propoſals for an accommodation, though they outwardly appeared ſo juſt and reaſonable, were in truth no better than ſo many baits laid to amuſe and decoy his rival. In ſhort, *Cæſar* ſeemed to have been born for the deſtruction, and *Alexander* for the happineſs of mankind.

In the character of their courage there is an eſſential difference, which gives *Alexander* infinitely the advantage over *Cæſar*. In all the performances of *Cæſar* we ſee the great man, but ſtill it is man; there is nothing in them above the reach of human power. Whereas in the great actions performed by *Alexander*, one can diſtinguiſh as it were ſome rays of divinity. His attempts were fitter for a God than a mortal, and yet he executes them; like *Achilles*, he proves the truth of *Homer*'s definition of valour, who ſays that it is a divine inſpiration, and that ſome God takes poſſeſſion of the man for the time, and acts within him. *Cæſar* claims our eſteem, but *Alexander* forces our admiration.

This air of divinity is not only perceived in his military operations, but is blended likewiſe in his civil actions. Upon his ſetting out for *Aſia* he gave all he had to his friends, reſerving only hope for himſelf. After his conqueſts, thoſe princes who had been conquered by him, or ſubmitted to him, received from him dominions larger than they had loſt, and parted from him loaden with preſents. Every thing that came near him felt the effects of his bounty and magnificence. *Alexander* beſtowed not like a king, but like the maſter of the univerſe.

Cæſar's bounty is a mercenary bounty; he does not give, but buys at a great price the people's votes and intereſts. Whereas the bounty of *Alexander* flows from a beneficence natural to him; like that of the Gods, it aims only at the pleaſure and glory of beſtowing.

Cæſar heaped up great treaſures, which he kept in reſerve, that he might be able in due time to reward that valour that ſhould be ſerviceable to his purpoſes. But *Alexander* was not ſatisfied with rewarding magnificently thoſe that ſerved him; he carried his gratitude further, and continued to the children of ſuch as had died in his ſervice the pay of their fathers, the memory of whoſe brave actions he thus tranſmitted to poſterity, and propoſed them as examples for their imitation.

This greatneſs of ſoul breaks forth even in his moſt familiar diſcourſes. When *Parmenio* adviſed him to accept of *Darius*'s offers, and told him *that he would if he was* Alexander: *and ſo would I*, replied *Alexander* very briſkly, *if I was* Parmenio. When his friends preſſed him not to attack *Darius* but in the night-time, that he might conceal from his troops the prodigious numbers with which they were to engage, he replied, *I will not ſteal a victory.* When *Parmenio* expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at his being able to ſleep ſo ſoundly and calmly the night before

fore the battle; *What*, replied *Alexander*, *doſt thou not think we have already conquered, now we have ſtopped the flight of the enemy, and brought him to engage us?* There is a ſublime in this ſimplicity, which nothing can equal. Here *Alexander* is as much *Alexander* as he is in the greateſt of his actions. Thoſe ſayings of *Cæſar* that have been preſerved, contain nothing in them ſo great and noble, unleſs we except his ſpeech to the pilot, who, amazed at the danger he was in, and unable to ſtem the tide, was for turning back; *Be bold*, ſaid he, *and fear nothing, thou carrieſt* Cæſar *and his fortune.* He would have had the confidence in his fortune to outweigh with the pilot the terrors of an inſtant death, with which he was threatened. This ſaying was the argument of a great mind, but perhaps it ſhould have been juſtified by the ſucceſs, to have appeared as great as thoſe of *Alexander*.

Alexander transfuſed this greatneſs of mind into his troops; his ſoldiers thought themſelves more than men whilſt they were fighting under him. It is true, that in this reſpect *Cæſar* had the ſame advantage with *Alexander*. His ſoldiers, who under other commanders performed nothing more than other men, became under him invincible heroes. And yet both the one and the other have ſometimes been expoſed to the murmurs, and experienced the deſpondency of their troops; but they both knew how to animate them, and to bring them back to their duty by the ſame means, and with the ſame magnanimity.

There was a ſtrong reſemblance between them in ſeveral moral qualities; they ſhowed the ſame frugality in their way of living, and the ſame zeal and attachment for their friends. But *Alexander* never gave ſo high an inſtance of his attention to friends as *Cæſar* did; when being forced by a violent ſtorm to a poor hovel, in which there was but one room,

and that hardly big enough to hold one man, he quitted it to one of his friends that happened to be ſick, and lay himſelf under the pent-houſe. *Alexander* intereſted himſelf in behalf of his friends, but *Cæſar* ſuffered inconveniences for the ſake of his.

They have both of them been commended for their clemency and humanity, of which it is certain they gave extraordinary inſtances on many occaſions. *Alexander* pardoned the *Athenians* who had received the *Thebans* into their city; and *Cæſar* pardoned the officers in *Pompey*'s army, who were taken priſoners in the battle of *Pharſalia*. *Alexander* coming up to *Darius* the moment after he had expired, was ſenſibly touched at the ſight of that unhappy prince, and ſincerely lamented his misfortunes. And when the head of *Pompey* was preſented to *Cæſar*, he turned away his eyes, and burſt into tears. And yet both the one and the other were guilty of actions that were cruel and inhuman. *Cæſar* put to death ſeveral perſons of conſular and pretorian dignity, who had been taken priſoners at the battle of *Thapſus*; and *Alexander* at his firſt arrival in *Aſia* ordered his ſoldiers to put every man to the ſword without diſtinction. But *Cæſar* was the moſt to be blamed; for his cruelty was exerciſed upon conquered enemies, from whom he had nothing to fear; whereas thoſe againſt whom *Alexander* gave ſuch directions were as yet unconquered, and had their arms in their hands. It is true, the cruelty he ſhowed in the ſacking of *Thebes*, was uſeleſs; but the ſorrow he afterwards expreſt, and the bitter remorſe he felt for that barbarity, plead for a pardon. The ſame may be ſaid of the murder of *Clitus*, the ignominy of which was effaced by his grief and deſpair. Beſides, that murder was committed in the tranſports of a violent paſſion, aggravated, and inflamed by wine.

We cannot make the ſame excuſe for the puniſhment of *Philotas*, that of *Calliſthenes*, or the death of *Parmenio*, whom he ordered to be ſlain in *Media* after all the great ſervices he had performed for him. Theſe cruelties committed in cold blood upon ſlight accuſations without any proofs, will remain as indelible blots upon his character and memory.

His breach of faith in putting a whole garriſon to the ſword, after they had ſurrendered upon articles, is ſtill more infamous. Never were any of *Cæſar*'s exploits blaſted with ſuch treachery: unleſs we place in the ſame light that which he was guilty of in his march againſt the *Germans*, of whom he ſlew three hundred thouſand, notwithſtanding the peace that ſubſiſted betwixt them and the *Romans*. But this action was juſtified by all the *Romans*, who returned their thanks to the Gods for it; whereas that of *Alexander* was never excuſed by any one.

Alexander, miſled by the glaring ſhow of *Achilles*'s valour, made choice of that hero for his imitation, and without diſtinguiſhing between what was truly great, and what was barbarous and brutal in his character, imitated him in the moſt faulty parts of it. To this pernicious imitation we are to impute the barbarity he exerciſed upon the *Cuſſæans*, when he ſlaughtered them all, men, women, and children, in his ſorrow for the death of *Hephæſtion*, calling that horrible butchery a ſacrifice to his departed friend. He unluckily remembered that *Achilles* had ſacrificed ſeveral *Trojan* princes upon the tomb of *Patroclus*, and forgot that the poet's relation of that inhumanity includes in it a condemnation of it. He did not reflect how much his barbarity exceeded that of the fierce and implacable *Achilles*. *Patroclus* had been ſlain by a *Trojan*, but the *Cuſſæans* were innocent of the death of *Hephæſtion*. *Cæſar* never ran into ſuch barbarous exceſſes.

On the other hand, none of *Cæſar*'s moſt celebrated victories can be compared with that glorious conqueſt which *Alexander* obtained over himſelf, when having in his power the wife and daughters of *Darius*, he liſtened to wiſdom only and reaſon. They were in his camp as in a holy temple, honoured and ſerved with all the reſpect due to their dignity and their virtue.

Never therefore did any Prince receive a greater encomium than *Alexander* did from the mouth of *Darius*, when after his defeat he beſought the Gods that if it was their pleaſure to put an end to the empire of the *Perſians*, that no one but *Alexander* might ſit upon the throne of *Cyrus*; and afterwards when he was juſt expiring he gave him the tendereſt marks of affection and acknowledgment, and died praying the Gods to recompenſe *Alexander* for the humanity, indulgence, and generoſity ſhown by him to that which was the deareſt to him of all things in the world. This teſtimony given him by a dying enemy will be more valued by a wiſe man than all the monuments raiſed to *Cæſar*'s glory; a teſtimony ſingly worth all *Cæſar*'s triumphs.

Cæſar can by no means be compared with *Alexander* on the ſcore of chaſtity. What compariſon can there be between a man ſo infamous for his incontinence, as to be called in full ſenate, *The huſband of every woman, and the wife of every man*, with a Prince, who was the perfect model of modeſty and virtue! It is true, the tincture *Alexander* had received in his education did not preſerve its force and beauty to the end, but by degrees faded and died. He fell at laſt into irregularities, and was not proof againſt a deteſtable vice for which he had always before expreſt an abhorrence. But this may be charged upon his long commerce with the barbarians, the moſt effeminate and diſſolute of mankind.

Sobriety is a virtue requiſite in all men, but indiſpenſable in a Prince. The vice oppoſite to it plunges them into diſorders, which without reckoning the miſchiefs they occaſion, degrade them, and make them unworthy the high rank they bear in the world. Here juſtice and injuſtice loſe their diſtinctions, and a man is led by no other guide but his unruly paſſions. *Alexander* loved to ſit long at table without being addicted to wine; but in the latter part of his life he wallowed in exceſſes that diſgraced him. He ſet fire to the palace of *Perſepolis* at the inſtigation of a harlot in one of his debauches, and murdered *Clitus* in another. *Cæſar* on the other hand kept himſelf always ſober, even by the confeſſion of his enemies. *Cato* ſaid of him *that he was the only man noted for his ſobriety that ever undertook to overturn the government*.

The robe of the barbarians which *Alexander* wore, and that mixture he introduced of the *Perſian* cuſtoms with thoſe of the *Macedonians* might be juſtified by ſome politick views, if it did not appear that vanity was at the bottom, and if it was not always thought diſhonourable for the conqueror to ſtoop to, and follow the cuſtoms of the vanquiſhed. But perhaps this forgetfulneſs of himſelf may be attributed to the exceſs of his proſperity. Where ſhall we find a young victorious Prince capable of reſiſting the conſtant favours of fortune, always courting, always careſſing him?

The *Bacchanalian* life he led in *Carmania*, where for ſeven days together he marched in ſuch a diſſolute licentious manner, as was fit only for thoſe that celebrate the orgies of *Bacchus*, is a diſhonour to that expedition. *Cæſar* led ſuch another in *Theſſaly*, which he marched through at the head of his army wallowing in wine and debauch. Both the one and the other may poſſibly be excuſed, from the great ſcarcity they had juſt ſuffered in their former marches. Who knows

knows not how difficult it is to keep troops within bounds, who after ſuffering a long and painful famine fall on a ſudden into rich and plentiful quarters? But *Cæſar*'s army is ſtill the more excuſable, as his men found in their debauch a remedy for the contagious diſtemper with which they were afflicted.

We often find in the greateſt men a mixture of grandeur and meanneſs, at which thoſe who do not well conſider the infirmity of human nature would be aſtoniſhed. *Alexander* is not ſatisfied with that true and ſubſtantial reputation, which he might juſtly expect from poſterity on account of his great exploits, but he is for impoſing on the world by falſe appearances. He cauſes to be made arms of an extraordinary ſize, mangers for his horſes higher, and the bits of his bridles heavier than ordinary, which he ſcatters up and down in the plains of the *Ganges*, on purpoſe to excite a greater admiration of him in future generations. *Cæſar* never let ſlip from him the leaſt inſtance of ſuch a vanity, or rather of ſuch a weakneſs. So far was he from adding to his reputation by a falſity, that he would not ſo much as contradict a falſity that had been raiſed to leſſen his reputation. The *Arverni* ſhowed in one of their temples a ſword, which they had cauſed to be hung up there, as a ſpoil taken from *Cæſar*, and they continue to ſhow it to this very day. Once in his paſſage through the country he was carried to ſee that ſword, and his friends preſſed him to have it removed as a memorial that diſparaged him; but he only laughed; and conſidering it as a thing conſecrated he left it where he found it, building his glory on the merit of his exploits.

True courage does not appear only in the operations of war; there are other inſtances, wherein the terror may ſeem leſs, but the danger is greater; and which therefore require a more firm and determined courage. Of this ſort *Cæſar* has nothing wherein he

may

may be compared to *Alexander*, who, when in a dangerous fit of ſickneſs he was informed by a letter from *Parmenio* that his phyſician had been bribed to poiſon him, received with one hand the doſe that had been prepared for him, and with the other delivered to the phyſician the letter wherein he was accuſed of the parricide, and whilſt he was reading it ſwallowed the medicine without heſitation, and without ſhowing the leaſt token of ſuſpicion or uneaſineſs. Perhaps policy, always timorous and diſtruſtful, will charge this action with imprudence, but heroiſm will find ſuch marks in it as to acknowledge it for her own.

Cæſar's ambition was to get himſelf declared King by a people who had an invincible averſion to monarchy, and that of *Alexander* was to have the people own him for a God. The ambition of the one was unjuſt, and that of the other impious. But there is this difference between them, *Cæſar* would have been declared King, after he had involved the ſtate in innumerable calamities, and *Alexander* would have paſſed for a God after all the world had been ſenſible of his beneficence. He ſcattered around him light and happineſs where-ever he went, and whereſoever he conquered; they only who had not a ſight of him remained in darkneſs, like thoſe who are deprived of the light of the ſun. One of them ſhowed himſelf unworthy to be a King by the miſeries he had occaſioned, and the other ſeemed a God by the benefits he had procured.

If we examine them with reſpect to religion, which is the foundation of morality, we ſhall find *Alexander*'s opinions of the divinity were ſound enough, which may be owing to his converſe with the greateſt philoſophers, to whom he always ſhowed an affectionate regard. He conſtantly began his expeditions with a ſacrifice, and never failed to return thanks to the Gods for any ſucceſs they had granted him.

To

To this religious principle was owing the reſpect he ever ſhowed to prieſts and ſanctuaries. *Cæſar* did not appear ſo well inſtructed, nor ſo devout. He performed ſacrifices on important occaſions, and purified his troops, but this ſeemed in him to be done more out of cuſtom than devotion, and he was more ſollicitous to conſult the Gods than to return his thankſgivings to them. That wherein they both agreed was an art of eluding the preſages when they were not favourable, or elſe of laughing at them, or by ſome turn of wit conſtruing them to their own advantage. The only difference between them in this point was, that *Cæſar* was always the ſame, whereas *Alexander* fell into a moſt horrible ſuperſtition, always more injurious to the divinity than irreligion itſelf, as we have ſhown elſewhere.

However it appeared by the miracles the Gods wrought in favour of *Alexander*, that providence particularly watched over him. The wonderful rain that fell all on a ſudden whilſt he was traverſing the deſerts in order to conſult the Oracle of *Ammon*, and which both refreſhed his army that was ready to die for thirſt, and at the ſame time delivered it from the danger of being buried in thoſe heaps of moving ſand raiſed by the ſouth wind like ſo many mountainous waves, and the crows which guided them by their flight in the day-time, and by their croaking in the night, are manifeſt evidences of this providence. The Gods never ſhowed any thing like it in behalf of *Cæſar*.

It is the diſtinguiſhing quality of the ambitious perſon to count for nothing what is paſt, to be conſtantly aiming to ſurmount that which is the higheſt, and, when there is no other rival left, to turn a rival to, and labour to ſurpaſs himſelf. Such was the ambition of *Cæſar*, and *Alexander*. This laſt, after he had puſhed his conqueſts even as far as to the riſing ſun, thought of embarking on the *Euphrates*,

of

of ſailing round the ſouth ſea, and entering by *Hercules*'s pillars into the *Mediterranean*, and thus of ſubduing the ſouth as he had already done the eaſt. And *Cæſar* not content with his conqueſts, which reached on one ſide to the *Euphrates*, and on the other beyond the *Atlantick* ocean, was preparing to make an expedition againſt the *Parthians*, to traverſe *Hyrcania*, and marching by the ſide of mount *Caucaſus*, and the *Caſpian* ſea to enter into *Scythia*, and proceeding forwards to ſubdue the nations bordering on *Germany*, and finally *Germany* itſelf, and to return from thence to *Rome*, after having thus delineated the ſpacious circle of the *Roman* empire, and given it on every ſide the ocean for its boundary. And at the ſame time that he was buſied in theſe preparations he gave orders for ſeveral prodigious works deſigned for the glory and accommodation of *Rome*. Can the whole world ſhow two other inſtances of ſuch prodigious ambition? But death, which laughs at all human deſigns, interpoſed, and overturned their mighty projects.

They reſembled one another in their deaths, which were ſeverally preceded by ſigns and admonitions. *Alexander* is warned by the *Chaldeans* not to enter *Babylon*; he deſpiſes the warning, enters and returns to his camp, and then laughs at the prediction. The *Chaldeans* aſſure him the menace ſtill hung over him, and that *Babylon* would be fatal to him; he returns thither, and there he dies.

Cæſar in like manner is adviſed by a ſoothſayer to beware of the ides of *March*. When the day was come he laughed at the ſoothſayer, telling him, *The ides of* March *were come*: *Yes*, replied the prophet, *but they are not paſt*; and that very day he was murdered. But if they reſembled one another in their deaths, as they were both forewarned by prodigies, they differed very much in the manner of their reſpective deaths, and the circumſtances attending them.

them. *Alexander* died in his bed of a ſickneſs owing to an immoderate debauch, and was regretted and lamented by the *Perſians* as well as *Macedonians*; whereas *Cæſar* was ſtabbed in full ſenate by thoſe he had honoured with his favour and benevolence, and the murderers were for ſome time looked on by the *Romans* as their deliverers; they decreed them the higheſt honours, and the moſt conſiderable provinces. *Alexander* by his actions forced even his enemies to love and admire him, whereas *Cæſar* drew on himſelf the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens. As he had made himſelf a tyrant he came to a violent end, dying the death of a tyrant.

Livy thought it not unbecoming him to interrupt the thread of his hiſtory by examining what might have been the fortune of *Alexander*, if inſtead of marching againſt the barbarians he had turned his arms againſt *Italy*. I think it leſs foreign to the deſign of this compariſon to enquire in this place which would be moſt advantageous to a ſtate to have an *Alexander* for their General, or a *Cæſar*, conſidering them only in their military and political capacities.

Alexander's actions carry a luſtre with them that dazzles the eye; his enthuſiaſtick valour tranſports the reader, as he was tranſported with it himſelf. In *Cæſar*'s we find more of ſafety, and ſedateneſs. To follow *Alexander*, is to be in perpetual alarms, and apprehenſions for him. If we follow *Cæſar*, his wiſdom and experience quiet us, his conduct inſpires us with more confidence, than the dangers, to which we ſee him expoſe himſelf, do with terror. A tranſport of courage is not always the ſureſt guide; it is often a blind impetuoſity, the ſource of temerity; and temerity in the long run muſt be unfortunate. Nothing can be more dangerous for a ſtate than to have their General truſt to miracles, for miracles are not always certain, but, as *Ariſtophanes* ſays, the Gods will grow weary of conducting the raſh and inconſi-

inconſiderate, who make an ill uſe of their aſſiſtance. If *Alexander* had been worſted in any one engagement he would have been ſo for the whole war, without ever being able to recover himſelf again. Whereas *Cæſar* when beaten found in himſelf freſh ſupplies, and was ſure to conquer the conquerors. For as it is the eſſential quality of indiſcretion to turn even good fortune into bad, prudence on the contrary draws good out of evil, and is the mother of ſucceſs. If fortune is ſometimes pleaſed to exert her power againſt her, ſhe is foiled at laſt, and forced to ſubmit.

END of the FOURTH VOLUME.

inconsiderate, who make an ill use of their affluence. If Alexander had been worsted in any one engagement he would have been lo for the whole war, without ever being able to recover himself again. Whereas Cæsar when beaten found himself still superior, and was sure to conquer his enemies. For as is the essential quality of virtue to turn even good fortune into bad, so the contrary draws good out of evil, and is the mother of success. If fortune is sometimes placed to exert her power against her, she is foiled at last, and forced to submit.